The crisis in the ***Fourth International*** *and the Canadian Section from 1970*

PART 1b: The Fourth International – The impact of international politics

TO FOLLOW:
(MIA Part 2: The LSO/LJS and the crisis in the Quebec movement; the defence of the urban terrorists of the FLQ, and the defence of the left against the War Measures Act)
(MIA Part 3: The crisis in the politics of the youth affiliates YS/LJS, of the Canadian Section

ea	English Adult files
efg	English Forward Group files
ey	English Youth files
f	French files

lc	*Labor Challenge*
Fw	*Forward*
LLO	*La Lutte Ouvrière*
Lib	*Libération*

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1973-4Apr13 #47	International Report (adopted by LSA/LSO CC) by A.Y.
1973-4Apr-DB #48-	*Counter International Resolution (RCT-Smith & Tregebov) (See B-3-LSA/LSO)*
1973-4Apr-DB #48-	Did the PC suppress the Germain document? (A.Y.)
1973-11Nov28V.2#1	Pre-WC IDB: LSA/LSO PC Statement on Popular Frontism
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f4avril-No. 33-2b	fin) En prison au Pérou – Vallières enfin libéré
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League for Socialist Action/
Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

Discussion Bulletin 1972

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THE LSA ATTACKS ON THE ARGENTINE SECTION and the response of the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST TENDENCY League for Socialist Action - submitted by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency

AUGUST

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THE LSA ATTACKS ON THE ARGENTINE SECTION and the response of the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST TENDENCY Leage for Socialist Action

Introduction

In June of 1971 the LSA-LSO began the first in its series of public attacks on the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party), Argentine Section of the Fourth International. In its monthly Quebec organ, Liberation, it printed two articles side by side: one, a statement of a small and insignificant group of Brazilian revolutionaries (who have no relation at all to the Fourth International) who call themselves Punto de Partido -- this statement was a condemnation of kidnappings as a tactic for revolutionaries (the LSO headlined this statement: "The Marxist View on Kidnappings"); the other was an article concerning the kidnapping of Stanley Sylvester, an Argentine capitalist (director of the Swift de la Plata meat packing factory), by our comrades of the PRT-ERP.

A political paraplegic could grasp the implications of the juxtaposition of these two articles. It amounts to nothing less than a factional provocation to the Fourth International (and the comrades of the PRT). The Political Committee of the LSA-LSO refused to admit this of course. In his report to the Summer 1971 plenum of the LSA-LSO, comrade Dowson describes the Punto de Partido statement as "a document generally Marxist and of interest to our movement" (generally Marxist - sic!) and the ERP article as "a straight factual account of the ERP kidnap action".[1] And so, we are supposed to believe that there is no connection between the two articles. It is amazing to note that, a few sentences later (in that report) Dowson can say that "At this stage in its (the F.I.'s) development it is necessary to create and sustain an atmosphere for collaboration and for resolution in free debate of the differences in our ranks". Dowson proposes to sustain an atmosphere of free and fraternal discussion within the F.I. by publicly attacking the other Sections?!!

The LSA Strikes Again

On April 10, 1972, Labor Challenge, the public organ of the LSA in English Canada, published an open and slanderous attack on the PRT-ERP. The article, entitled "LSA on Argentine Kidnapping" (a statement of the Political Committee, LSA-LSO), dealt with the kidnapping of Oberdan Sallustro, the general manager of the huge Fiat Concorde automobile factory, by commandos of the ERP.

The article begins by comparing the activity of our Argentine comrades to that of the FLQ:

> "Their action has aroused wide attention across the world, including Canada where an action similar in many ways was carried out in October 1970 under the banner of the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ)."

The PC statement then accuses our comrades of falling under the influence of "guerrilla strategies":

> "Under the influence of guerrilla strategies such as those carried out in other parts of Latin America by Che Guevara in Bolivia or the Tupamaros in Uruguay, many revolutionary militants in Argentina have staked their hopes in dramatic actions by small groups. Such actions, they feel, can spark the masses into moving to overthrow the dictatorship and taking power into their own hands."

The statement continues on to say that the "ERP action, like that of t FLQ supporters in Quebec, reduces the masses to the role of spectators" and asserts that "The task in Argentina as in Canada and Quebec is the construction of such a party (a revolutionary party -- RCT) capable of leading the working class in the struggle for power".

This last statement ("The task in Argentina as in Canada...) by itself contradicts the resolution adopted by the 9th World Congress of the Fourth International. The comparison between the ERP and the FLQ is nothing more than a slander on the PRT-ERP. And the article, in its totality, is a flagrant violation of the democratic centralism of the World Party. This is what the Unified Tendency said in April -- it is what the Revolutionary Communist Tendency says now -- and it is what the United Secretariat said when it passed a motion calling the LSA-LSO to order for its factio anti-internationalist action (a fact which the PC has attempted to hush up).

The PRT and the ERP: Setting the Record Straight

The LSA-LSO gives newspaper coverage to the PRT-ERP only whe there is a kidnapping, and then, it is only for its own factional purposes. Consequently, it is difficult for comrades to ascertain exactly what is the organization and activity of the Argentine Section. And so, it is necessary t elaborate some of these things in order to set the record straight.

The PRT was founded in 1964 and for a whole period the center of it activity was participation in the struggle of the Argentine masses and accu lation of cadre. In 1967, confronted by the Ongania military dictatorship, t party began its discussions on the question of launching an armed struggle came to the conclusion that the only realistic strategy for struggle under the specific conditions was one that combined party building and mass work tas with a relentless armed struggle against the dictatorship.

After a costly and rather slow period of preparation, the party was a to define its objectives clearly and develop methods of armed struggle. This activity of the PRT was in strict consonance with the political line adopted b the Fourth International at its 9th World Congress in 1969. The ERP (Pe ple's Revolutionary Army) was founded by the PRT at its 5th Congress in July of 1970. It subsequently began a coordinated and well-organized arme struggle and military intervention in the struggle that had been initiated by t Argentine masses in 1969. 1969 saw mass political strikes on the part of the Argentine working (...page 3) class and sharp clashes with the army, the character of which was semi-insurrectionary. Mass uprisings have continued to the present, with whole cities being seized by the workers at times. The ERP has carried out its operations in such a fashion as to link up with the workers' mobilizations, and this has allowed the PRT to win important support amongst youth and in major factories. By all accounts, the ERP is one of the best organized and largest of the guerrilla armies on the Latin American continent today (only superceded by the Tupamaros).

It must be emphasized that the ERP is a broad mass organization, having the character of a united front of all those forces who see the necessity of overthrowing the dictatorship by armed means. This, of course, means that it is quite heterogeneous with regard to the spectrum of political views represented within it. But there is no other way to build a mass popular army other than in this way. To the present, the PRT has provided the political and military leadership of the army.

The comrades of the PRT and ERP recognize the key role of the party in the revolutionary process. The Guevarist schema, whereby the army fulfills the role of the party, has been rejected by the PRT.

> "The PRT, carrying out the best traditions of Marxism, confirmed by the experiences of triumphant proletarian revolutions around the world, holds that the question of differentiation between the party and the army is a matter of principle...The party is a superior form of organization, the kernel of the working class vanguard, and the transmitter of revolutionary process through the mass organizations, both those in existence or yet to be created. The army is a mass combat organization which must be created and directed by the party. This (the party) guarantees the proletarian character of the army's objectives." (El Combatiente - paper of the PRT, January, 1971)^2

The kidnapping of Sallustro stemmed directly from moves on the part of the military regime and Fiat to smash the two auto workers unions, SITRAM and SITRAC. The kidnapping of the general manager of that plant certainly won wide sympathy amongst the workers. It is not true, as the Labor Challenge statement said, that the action reduced the workers to the role of spectators. Indeed, as the Argentine Army made house to house searches in Buenos Aires for Sallustro, the workers responded with a generalized political strike against repression, paralyzing several cities. The workers' upsurge was only put down after martial law had been declared in a number of provinces and the Army intervened.

The Marxist View of Terrorism

Marxists are opposed to a policy of individual terrorism. Our condemnation of it is not based upon moralistic or pacifist considerations, but on grounds of revolutionary efficacy. As George Novack said in his article Marxism versus Neo Anarchist Terrorism:

> "Individual terror turns its back on the real class struggle by seeking to replace the independent class and political activities of the workers with a duel in the dark between a handful of conspirators and the authorities in which the advantages are on the side of reaction. It demoralizes and disorients the revolutionary movement by concentrating attention upon preoccupations of a handful of terrorists rather than meeting the needs of the specific stage of the class struggle for power."3

Can the actions of the PRT-ERP be called acts of individual or neo-arnarchist terrorism? Definitely not...The PRT-ERP has never turned its back on the real class struggle -- on the contrary, its policy has been to link up the military operations of the popular army with the mobilizations of the working class. Have the actions of the PRT-ERP met the needs of the specific stage of the class struggle for power? We must answer Yes. The analysis of the 9th World Congress characterized the whole of the Latin American continent as having entered a prerevolutionary stage and developed a strategic revolutionary line that involved the launching of armed struggle; it is within that framework that our Argentine comrades have operated. They have, with no small success, applied the continental analysis to the concrete reality of Argentina.

As Marxists, we do not believe in individual terror because it underrates the class struggle. We instead believe in increasing the struggle, in mass terrorism!

> "Marxists have always sharply distinguished terrorist adventurism from acts undertaken in self-defense against reactionary assaults, or from violence integrally connected with the progressive side in a civil war or the national liberation struggle of an oppressed people."4

It is the analysis of the Argentine comrades that the country has been enfulged in a revolutionary war since 1969. The civil war has been characterized by mass workers' upsurges, political strikes, street-fighting and the armed actions of several vanguard groups and armies. In this context, it would be hard to characterize the actions of the PRT-ERP as "ultraleft".

It is not the task, -contrary to what the PC statement says- to build the revolutionary party; rather the central axis of our strategic orientation in Latin America is the armed struggle, and it is around this central axis that our mass work and the construction of the party proceeds. Such is the political line that was adopted by the 9th World Congress.

The Central Executive Committee of the YS-LJS has gone on record as saying that "The Fourth International has no stand endorsing kidnapping, either as a strategy or as a tactic".5 Let us make it perfectly clear to the CEC -- that for Marxists, kidnappings can never constitute a strategy; a kidnapping is a tactical question. And further, the resolution on Latin America adopted by the 9th World Congress allowed for the employment of such a tactic within the general framework of the armed struggle; the resolution states that it is necessary to "undertake actions in the big cities aimed at striking the nerve centers ...and at punishing the hangmen of the regime as well as achieving propagandistic and psychological successes". (our emphasis - RCT)

The Statutes of the Fourth International

The 1965 World Congress of the Fourth International adopted a constitution that described the organizational character and statutes of the World Party. These statutes are in full effect until the next World Congress when, it is projected, a new constitution will be adopted. It is instructive to look at some of these statutes since they show that the LSA Political Committee has violated them in publishing the Labor Challenge article.

> "The Fourth International is governed by the principles and practices of democratic centralism both internationally and nationally, meaning that the greatest possible democracy is practised in internal discussion in working out a political line, whether on an international or national scale, while the firmest discipline is followed in applying this line once it has been decided on by majority vote. This is not merely a preferred method; it is an organizational principle."[7]

> "The highest authority of the Fourth International is the World Congress. Climaxing a democratic process of discussion and election of delegates among the national sections, the World Congress determines the political line of the International as a whole on all programmatic issues. In questions involving the national sections, the World Congress serves as the final body of appeal and decision."[8]

> "In case of differences between a section and the World Congress, it is the duty of the section to loyally carry out the decisions made by the majority at the World Congress, no matter how serious the differences were or what the position of its delegation was."[9]

What do these statutes mean? For the PRT they mean that it must attempt to implement the strategic line developed for Latin America and adopted by the 9th World Congress of the Fourth International. For the LSA-LSO they mean that it must publicly defend that political strategy and defend our comrades who are trying to implement it. The Fourth International did not order the LSA-LSO to "forget" its differences on the Latin American question. In fact, it proposed that the discussion between the national sections continue through to the next World Congress. But has the LSA documented its disagreements and its position on the Latin American question in the International discussion bulletins? We have not seen one word! Rather (..page 6)

than debate the differences within the International, the PC prefers to carry the debate outside of our world movement. This, from a section that claims to be loyal to the World Party of Socialist Revolution!

Why the Political Committee did it

Why did the PC publish the Argentine statement in Labor Challenge? The reason that they give us is that since the Sallustro kidnapping was well known to have been carried out by the "Trotskyist ERP" the Canadian Trotskyists had to disociate themselves from the action, which might lead some persons to believe that our organization "condones acts of individual terror".

It is not difficult to see why the LSA does not want to be associated with the PRT-ERP. Such an association would certainly "turn off" the LSA's liberal (Liberal) friends in the Abortion Law Repeal Coalition as well as bring shit down on its head in the riding associations of the Second International. So much for the friends and contacts of the LSA.

But there is another reason for the Labor Challenge article. As some of us are well aware, the Canadian section does not support the Argentine section at all -- but another group, led by one, Nahuel Moreno. This group, known by the name of its newspaper, "La Verdad", split from the PRT a number of years ago. It is on record as supporting the Popular Front (Unidad Popular) in Chile and the Popular Front (Frente Amplio) in Uruguay. Its leader, Moreno, has at various times proposed to rewrite the theory of the permanent revolution (suggesting in his 1962 pamphlet that in certain circumstances the role of vanguard could be played by the urban middle class[10]), -- at other times, to liquidate our Latin American sections into OLAS (the revolutionary front established by the Cuban leadership)11. We do not make these comments about the La Verdad group in order to cover over the problems that exist within the PRT, but only to show to the comrades of the LSA exactly what the PC proposes to replace our Argentine section with. For in fact, it appears that this is what the strategem of the PC is -- to have the PRT ousted from the Fourth International and replaced by the La Verdad group When one considers the "favorable coverage" that Labor Challenge has given in the past period to the Argentine Socialist Party (PSA, into which the La Verdad group has just entered, in order to run in the upcoming elections, from which revolutionary organizations have been banned) with malicious articles covering the actions of the PRT-ERP, one can only come to the conclusion that the LSA's leadership is engaging in the most distasteful factional maneuvering.

How the Unified Minority Tendency (LSA) responded to the PC statement

The comrades of the UMT (LSA), upon seeing the April 10 Labor Challenge article, were astonished that the leadership could have stooped to using such miserable subterranean tactics in dealing with its comrades in other sections. However, the UMT members, not having any positions on the PC or majorities in any branches, could do nothing more than to voice verbally their revulsion for the article to individual members of the leadership. The League tendency, quite correctly, did not boycott Labor Challenge, and were in every way loyal to the discipline of our party. We note, that according to the Constitution of the LSA-LSO:

> "The leadership is under the control of the membership, its policies always open to criticism, discussion and rectification, within properly established forms and limits, and the leading bodies themselves subject to formal recall and/or alteration. The membership has the right to demand and expect the greatest responsibility from the leaders precisely because of the position they occupy in the movement."[12]

The Unified Tendency recognized that a boycott of Labor Challenge would have constituted an improper form of protest. We have a clean record in this respect. The leadership, on the other hand, does not. The Political Committee, in our opinion, has not shown "the greatest responsibility" in its obligations either to the membership of the section or to the Fourth International. We consider that the PC has taken what can only be called a frivolous attitude toward the F.I.

The United Minority Tendency's (YS) Response

The comrades of the UMT (YS) answered the PC statement with a boycott of Labor Challenge. Since constitutionally the YS and LSA are separate organizations, individual members of the YS cannot lodge a formal protest with the Political Committee, and the Political Committee has no obligation to answer such a protest. Under these circumstances, the boycott of Labor Challenge was the only thing that the United Tendency could do. As sympathizers of the Fourth International and as members of a sympathizing organization to the Fourth International, the United Tendency felt obligated to respond to the attack on its Argentine comrades. The YS tendency's stand was perfectly principled; it confined its protest within the movement, and did not take it outside of the movement (in contradiction to what the PC did, in publishing the Argentine statement).

The "boycott" of Labor Challenge was limited to the United Tendency comrades' refusal to sell the April 10 issue of that paper. Subsequently, the CEC directed the United Tendency comrades to end the boycott, and, in respect for the discipline of the YS, we ended the boycott.

The Attitude of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency

The Revolutionary Communist Tendency of the LSA-YS declares its complete solidarity with the Fourth International and asserts here its agreement with the United Secretariat motion calling the LSA-LSO to order for its attack on the Argentine section of the F.I. It is the responsibility of the Canadian section to put forward its criticisms and its position on Latin America in the International Discussion Bulletins, in the same way that the RCT has put forward its positions in the internal bulletins of our section. The internal debates of the International must go on within the International.

The discussions are too important to be sold on the street corners for fifteen cents.

The RCT reaffirms its support of the Resolution on Latin America, adopted at the 9th World Congress, and will support all measures which facilitate the construction of a strong, democratic-centralist World Party of Socialist Revolution.

Footnotes

1. Reports & Statements adopted by Summer 1971 Plenum of the Central Committee of the LSA-LSO, page 21
2. reprinted in Rouge #110
3. Marxism versus Neo Anarchist Terrorism, ISR, June 1970, page 15
4. ibid. page 16
5. CEC circular to all locals and members at large, May 6, 1972 page 7
6. Resolution on Latin America, documents of the 9th World Congress, IP, July 14, 1969, page 721
7. Statutes of the Fourth International, page 5 of preamble
8. ibid. Section II, para 5
9. ibid. Section II, para 8
10. La Revolucion Latinoamericana (1962)
11. quoted in International Information Bulletin No. 2, Jan. 1971 page 9-10
12. Organizational Character and Constitution of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, page 5

DECLARATION OF THE MAJORITY TENDENCY

The Canadian section of the Fourth International now stands at a cross roads. In the course of a prolonged pre-convention discussion, two minority tendencies have been formed. Both challenge the established and fundamental positions of our movement, and the challenges encompass a wide range of points.

This development coincides with a deepening crisis within our world movement, a crisis outlined in the document Argentina and Bolivia -- the Balance Sheet. The Canadian section must continue to play a central and active role in the Fourth International; it must do all in its power to defend the Trotskyist principles called into question in this debate.

The Revolutionary Communist Tendency in the LSA/LSO has developed differences on almost every question before us, extending to every area of work. The pre-convention discussion has revealed a fundamental deviation underlying their positions: the rejection of the method of the Transitional Program, and of its application to Canada in the program of the Canadian section.

The RCT rejects the need to bring the masses to an understanding of the revolutionary program through their own experiences. It would have us stand aside from the masses' struggles as their struggles unfold against the oppression and exploitation they suffer under capitalism. It rejects the method of the Transitional Program, which, on the basis of the objective situation, projects the necessity of establishing a bridge between the masses' present level of consciousness and their tasks -- a program of democratic and transitional demands "stemming from today's conditions and today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

Revolutionists must intervene in mass struggles, armed with a program of transitional and democratic demands, and not merely address propaganda to masses in motion. The RCT's error on the Transitional Program leads to a sectarian abstentionist or ultraleftist approach to the real process of class struggle.

The founding statement of the United Tendency expresses differences with the position of the Political Committee on one central point. The UT affirms the progressive nature of Canadian nationalism, and favors "the identification of our movement with this nationalism", which it considers leads "toward conflict with the Canadian state, and toward a linking with the tasks of the Canadian and international socialist revolution." (UT Declaration, Bulletin No. 35)

This pro-nationalist current thus breaks with the Leninist principle of opposition to nationalism im imperialist, oppressor nations.

Faced with these two challenges to fundamental principles of Trotskyism, rapid counter-measures are necessary. The key issues at stake must be clarified, to enable the April 20-24 convention to make a well-considered and correct decision. This demands a serious struggle, and the necessary consultation, collaboration and concerted effort to wage it with success. The undersigned comrades have constituted themselves as a political tendency, in order to carry this struggle with the greatest effectiveness, and thus achieve political clarity at the convention on the central issues before us.

The Majority Tendency stands on the following points:

1) Support of the call for formation of the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency of the Fourth International, contained in Argentina and Bolivia -- the Balance Sheet, a call based on the following three points:

a) Reversal of the turn made at the 9th World Congress on guerrilla warfare, and its extension since then, both geographically and programatically.

b) Reaffirmation of the use of the method indicated in the Transitional Program to solve the concrete problems faced by the Fourth International and its sections in bidding for leadership of the proletariat in the class struggle.

c) Reaffirmation of the basic program, tradition and practice of the Fourth International as they stood up to the time of the 9th World Congress, that is, specifically of commitment to the Leninist strategy of building a combat party to assure success in the coming revolutionary upsurges of the proletariat and its allies.

2) Reaffirmation of the Trotskyist position of opposition to the nationalism of imperialist, oppressor nations.

a) Support of the main line of the Political Committee resolution "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism", as set out in "What Are the Key Issues..." (Bulletin No. 39) in the subsection, "The Main Ideas of the PC Resolution". (pp7-9)

b) Defense of the LSA/LSO's orientation to the New Democratic Party, and against the extension of the nationalist error to this and to other areas.

The basis of membership in the Majority Tendency is agreement with this declaration. Membership is open to all LSA/LSO members; in accordance with the established practice of our movement, all who join must take an open stand, informing their branch or the Political Committee of their action.

The names of the initial members of the tendency are given below:

MONTREAL

Alain B.
Andre D.
Marc D.
Terry F.
Jean H.
Paul K.
Manon L.
Colleen L.
Brenda Z.

OTTAWA

Elaine B.
Chris S.
Joe Y.

HAMILTON

Kim B.

TORONTO NORTH

Bea B.
Albert H.

TORONTO EAST

George A.
Kate A.
Howard B.
Al C.
Phil C.
Kathy D.
Darrell F.
Lorna G.
Jacquie H.
Linda M.
Gary P.
John R.

TORONTO WEST

Lis A.
Bryan B.
Anna C.
Pam D.
Dick F.
Ron H.
Naomi J.
Penny S.
John S.
Don T.
Ernie T.
David W.
Art Y.

WINNIPEG

Bev B.
Katie C.
Richard D.
Brenda D.
Gary K.

EDMONTON

Heidi F.
Larry P.
Mark P.
Richard T.

VANCOUVER

Isolde B.
Reg B.
Ruth B.
Joan N.
Laura S.
Robert S.
Wendy S.
Roger W.

Al Cappe, Secretary, Majority Tendency, LSA-LSO.
#2202, 50 Stephanie Street, Toronto: Telephone (416) 869 1690

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League for Socialist Action/
Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière
Discussion Bulletin 1972-73

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1973 LSA-LSO CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

by Art Young for the Political Committee

Number 47 April 13, 1973 40 cents

For Internal Circulation Only

REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL

by Art Young, Toronto Local, West Branch

The general line of the following report was adopted unanimously by the Central Committee at its January 4 - 7 Plenum.

At our last plenum in September 1972, we adopted a World Movement Report which dealt with the discussion in the Fourth International as it had unfolded to that point. This report reaffirmed our opposition to the guerrilla orientation adopted at the last World Congress for Latin America. It also took a stand against the extension of this error to other areas, and it outlined our views on the key issues before the December meeting of the International Executive Committee.

This report consists of a report on what occurred at the meeting of the International Executive Committee, the world leadership body of the Fourth International between World Congresses, and an assessment of its significance.

The central issues at the IEC were Bolivia and Argentina: How had the majority line stood the test of events in those two countries since the last World Congress? Three of the five days of meetings were spent discussing this question, and because of its importance, special efforts were made to bring leaders of our Latin American movement to the IEC. Comrades attended from Peru, Chile and Mexico. Leadership delegations were invited from both Argentine Trotskyist groups. Four comrades represented the PRT-Verdad, the Argentinean sympathizing organization, while the official section, the PRT-Combatiente was represented by one comrade. Unfortunately neither Hugo Blanco nor any Bolivian comrades were able to attend.

Opportunities for the leadership of the International to meet and discuss together over a number of days are all too rare; but this was one such occasion. There was a substantial and representative attendance at this IEC meeting, as leaderships of a large number of sections and sympathizing groups were invited to send observers, in recognition of the fact that a considerable number of new Trotskyist groups have been established around the world since the present IEC was elected at the last World Congress.

In addition to myself, the Canadian delegation was composed of Alain Beiner and Joan Newbigging, replacing comrades Ross Dowson and Ernie Tate. Comrade Naomi Joliffe also attended as part of the staff helping to organize the plenum.

Every one of the five days saw heated polemics, reflecting the serious issues dividing the participants. New differences appeared in a number of areas, including party building in Western Europe and our evaluation of the Vietnam accords. But the central dispute remained that over Latin America, with comrades representing the majority and minority of the United Secretariat presenting documentation and extensive reports. Everyone recognized the central importance of the Latin American dispute.

Bolivia

Our aim, as set out at our last plenum, was to push the world movement to recognize what had really occurred in Bolivia and Argentina, and through this, to demonstrate the disastrous character of the guerrilla orientation. The IEC plenum heard detailed presentations by two leading Latin American comrades of the meaning of the experiences in Argentina and Bolivia. Still, the majority leadership showed no sign of pulling back. It refused to admit what had really happened when its line was implemented in the two countries; it held that in fact events had confirmed its line; that if errors had been made, these were not attributable to the World Congress line but rather errors in its application by the sections concerned; and that we should press forward with the guerrilla orientation.

Comrades Lorenzo, Moreno, Hansen and Camejo submitted a new document to the IEC, entitled Argentina and Bolivia: the Balance Sheet. At the time of the meeting, Hugo Blanco had stated his agreement with an earlier draft of this document, but had been unable to examine the draft submitted to the IEC. He has since added his name to it. (International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 1, Jan. 1973.) The authors of this document outline in considerable detail what a magnificent revolutionary opportunity was lost in Bolivia; how our section, searching for openings for guerrilla warfare, was blinded to the revolutionary significance of the mass struggles unfolding before its very eyes; did not recognize the nature of the prerevolutionary situation it faced; did not recognize the significance of the Popular Assembly as a possible embryo of dual power; did not advance slogans connected to the real living process of struggle; and how, after the defeat, the section has now entered the Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front, a formation with a progrmm calling for a "national" government, and with a formal discipline binding on the activities of its members.

All these errors, terribly decisive ones for our party and the Bolivian revolution, flow from the mistaken guerrilla orientation that the section was applying in total contradiction to the real process of the class struggle.

In his report for a minority of the United Secretariat, Comrade Lorenzo, a long-time member of the PRT-Verdad, made several important points. A key issue in the dispute at the last World Congress over Latin America was whether "the most probable variant" for the revolution in that continent was that of a process of extended guerrilla war, as the majority held. Or would it not in all likelihood follow the "classical variant" of proletarian revolution along the lines of the October Revolution, embodying the rise of mass struggles mainly in the populated centers and led by the proletariat, supported by other layers, leading to insurrectionary situations with the creation of forms of dual power? In this latter variant, a revolutionary party, steeled through years of experience in mass struggles, and armed with a correct program and cadres rooted among the masses, is required to lead the working class to power. In our view, that was "the most likely variant" and the one we should prepare for, said the minority at the time of the World Congress.

Comrade Lorenzo asked: were there not insurrectionary situations in Bolivia right after the World Congress? Did not a pre-revolutionary situation open up in Argentina, which continues to this very day? What about the huge general strikes in Uruguay? And the massive popular mobilizations in Chile? Where has guerrilla war played a key role since 1969, let alone offered a path to power? Which variant did these events confirm?

It was false, Lorenzo stated, to blame the section for the fiasco in Bolivia. The overriding error was made by the majority at the World Congress and by the leaders of the International who persisted in that line in the face of events which refuted it. It is significant that the majority leaders offered the Bolivian comrades no major criticisms or alternative line during the decisive period.

Lorenzo stated his emphatic agreement with the reporter for the United Secretariat majority, comrade Maitan, who stressed the grave responsibility for the defeat borne by the treacherous reformist misleaders of the class. But we insist, Lorenzo said, that these misleaders cannot be fought by isolating ourselves from the workers in actions of a small vanguard, whether armed or not. We have to seek the road to win decisive influence among the masses, competing with the reformists, often inside the organizations they lead, around a transitional program of struggle for power. This is what a "strategy" of guerrilla war prevents.

The majority report however affirmed agreement with the course of the Bolivian section. Despite the solid arguments of comrade Lorenzo and other speakers for the minority, the majority reaffirmed its determination to persist on the course which has proven so costly in Bolivia.

Argentina

The central debate of the entire IEC occurred over Argentina. While in many ways this debate was similar to that over Bolivia, here we were able to hear the opposing views of the two groups engaged in the struggle inside the country under discussion: the official Argentine section (PRT-Combatiente), and the sympathizing organization (PRT-Verdad).

The majority position, presented once again by Comrade Maitan, consisted essentially of another reaffirmation of the correctness of the guerrilla orientation, this time in Argentina.

The majority document makes a positive assessment of the armed struggle course of the PRT-C after its Fifth Congress, endorsing its use of the following: armed actions to accumulate money, arms and medical supplies, seizing food and clothing to distribute to the poor, "actions linked to the mass mobilizations", and actions of punishment against hated figues of the regime. Within this overall positive framework of the work of the section, the document criticizes the section for (i) the weakness of its links to the masses, flowing from a lack of clarity in its strategic orientation, (ii) the lack of clarity in its concept and method of intervention in the mass movement, and (iii) the possible ambiguity as to its opposition to any theory of stages.

(In a later statement, leaders of the majority also criticized themselves for not having opened up sooner a debate against the erroneous international positions of the PRT-C. They now promised to begin the debate.)

The above are indeed very telling criticisms of the PRT-C's orientation: its links to the masses are weak, it is unclear how to intervene in the mass movement, its strategy is unclear, and particularly the question of the theory of stages. When combined with the list of actions hailed above, which are so void of political content that special mention must be made of those actions which do have any connection with the masses, these criticisms clearly call into question the entire majority line, which the Argentine comrades are merely attempting to interpret and apply.

But that is not at all the reaction of the majority leaders. To them their "strategy of armed struggle", that is, guerrilla war, is the key thing. Everything else is secondary. The majority even went so far as to hail, in its document on Argentina presented to the IEC, certain actions of the ERP (led by the PRT-C), as representing "the highest stage of armed struggle attained since the Cuban revolution, to the extent that they represented an attempt to integrate the armed struggle into the concrete dynamic of the struggle of the masses." (page e). They thus place these activities of the ERP on a plane higher than the insurrection in Santo Domingo of 1965, or the struggle led by Hugo Blanco in La Convencion.

Majority leaders went even further. Up to the IEC meeting, they had all remained silent over whether or not they felt the ERP's kidnapping of Sallustro to be correct or not. At the IEC meeting, comrade Maitan broke the silence to affirm his agreement with the action.

Comrade Moreno, a leader of the PRT-V, reported for the United Secretariat minority. He described how the two lines, party building or guerrilla war, were applied by the two groups operating in the same country over the same time period. The guerrila-ist line applied by the official section led to the isolation of heroic militants from the masses, their brutal repression at the hands of the regime, and their further departure from the Trotskyist program. The Verdad group, on the other hand, by applying a line based on the Transitional Program, was able to grow very rapidly, to develop Trotskyist cadres, and to root themselves in key struggles of the Argentine masses.

The contrast between the two groups on international questions is equally striking. The PRT-Verdad, now called the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST-Socialist Workers Party), is a firm supporter of the Fourth International and its program. Combatiente, on the other hand, the official section of the International in Argentina, is carrying on a public campaign against the Fourth International designed to break it apart and to replace it with a new international based on the Communist Parties of China, Albania, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba, as well as certain other organizations which are not Trotskyist. (These positions are cited in the Balance Sheet document.)

Before even attempting to win our world movement to these views, the PRT-C has put them forward aggressively, in public, throughout Latin America. (To make matters worse, the International has not yet said one word of public defense of its historic heritage and program against these attacks.)

In a separate report, Comrade Nicolas representing the PRT-C presented their view, which I will not attempt to summarize here. I would refer comrades to the World Congress resolution on Latin America, to the document entitled The Only Road..., (International Information Bulletin, No. 4 in 1972), and to the documents of the Fifth Congress of the PRT-C which should be published shortly. Comrade Nicolas confirmed that while some of those views were not under discussion within the PRT-C and might be altered, they were in fact the positions of his organization.

In this crucial debate, a number of supporters of the United Secretariat majority unfortunately refused to address themselves to the political issues, preferring to raise such matters as the supposed inherent faults, or "traditional weaknesses" of Comrade Moreno and his group dating back to 1951, his supposedly "well-known opportunism", etc. This rummaging in the closets of the movement for skeletons of the past could of course be practised in several directions by the different parties in the current debate. But such a procedure would in no way serve to clarify what line our movement should have today. The attacks on Moreno could only have been designed to divert the discussion away from the hard facts before us: the debacle of the majority line as applied by the PRT-C, and great success of the Verdad comrades.

Another question is posed by such factional conduct. The leadership of the PRT-C demands the expulsion of the Verdad comrades from the Fourth International at the coming World Congress. (For Good Preparation of the Next Congress of the Fourth International, International Information Bulletin, No. 2 in 1972, June 1972.) Faced with this call, the leadership of the world movement was required to take a stand for the unity of the movement, and against splits and expulsions. The absence of such a stand from the majority leaders in the case of the La Verdad comrades, and their torrent of factional attacks on them, can only increase fears that an attempt is under way to lay the basis for the expulsion from the Fourth International of the Verdad comrades at the coming World Congress.

As far as the leadership of the Canadian section is concerned, the correctness of the party-building strategy in Latin America has received rapid and striking confirmation in Argentina. We are very gratified with the great progress being made by the PST (formerly the PRT-V) comrades. The January 1973 convention of the PST had 195 delegates in attendance, representing approximately 1,000 members. Its program, as comrades can judge from the material that has been translated in our press, is Trotskyist. At that convention, the PST voted to affiliate to the Fourth International, thus settling the last outstanding question in the eight-month manoeuver of the PRT-V to gain legal status and expand the size and influence of the Argentine Trotskyist movement qualitatively. The manoeuver has succeeded brilliantly.

The Trotskyist PST is still expanding very rapidly. It is now the second-largest group on the left in Argentina, following the Communist Party. It has just held a youth conference, with 800 in attendance. The Workers Front which it leads recently held a conference of over 1,200 persons, including some of the best-known union militants in the country. This progress is being made in a pre-electoral period around the principled line of denunciation of the military dictatorship, opposition to Peronism and class collaboration, and in favor of independent working-class political action. The question of breaking the workers from their support of Peronism is a historic problem in Argentina, and the comrades are making a very important contribution towards overcoming it.

The PST's election campaign calls for immediate amnesty to all political prisoners, and is linked to support for the workers struggles now in process across Argentina. They are calling for the generalization, extension of these struggles as the road forward for the Argentinian working class.

This development is of great importance for the entire Fourth International, not only for its significance in Argentine politics, but also because the comrades are demonstrating through their work the superiority of Trotskyism in the class struggle, and exposing our opponents, reformists and ultraleftists alike. The Fourth International has never before had a Latin American party of this size and weight. It is furthermore clear that the strength of the organization in Argentina, together with the power of its example, will play a very important role in building Trotskyist parties throughout the continent.

The entire Fourth International should react to the breakthrough that is occurring in Argentina in the same way that it reacted to the breakthrough of our French section during the May-June uprising of 1968. It should hail it, use all its resources to publicise what is occurring, and show the role of our party vis-a-vis all the other currents. The leading parties should consider sending cadres into Argentina to maximize coverage in our press and to increase liason with the comrades: this was done during the French events. All these developments could be used to explain to the revolutionary left on a world scale what Trotskyism is, and thus to build the different sections.

It is a sad commentary on the state of the Fourth International today that the reaction of the majority leadership has been quite the opposite. The comrades doing this important work are being factionally attached and their positions slanderously distorted inside their world movement. Leaders of the International have tried to ignore the gains being made. The facts have not been made available to the world Trotskyist movement, either internally or in the press. In fact, the majority leadership has even refused to publish any information on this crucial development of the Argentine class struggle -- not one word has appeared in the press under their direction!

A leadership which suppressed information of such vital importance condemns itself in the severest possible fashion.

The Balance Sheet of the Guerrilla Orientation

In our opinion, an important error was made at the last World Congress on Latin America. This was inevitably quite costly for our movement, but the costs could have been limited if the leadership had been able to reassess its course within a short time after the World Congress in the light of the new developments which which had occurred. Instead, the erroneous course has been persisted in to the point where two key sections of the Fourth International have been decimated. Yet the majority leaders absolutely refuse to reconsider their course even now. The authors of the "Balance Sheet" document correctly characterize this situation as a crisis within the International. This is all the more apt as the errors involved have far-reaching implications which go well beyond Latin America.

Our last plenum called on the IEC to "reassess the line the last world congress in the light of events in Bolivia and Argentina; to call a halt to the process of extension of this error to other areas which could prove even more costly to the Fourth International and the world revolution; and to reverse the line." (ISA/ISO Discussion Bulletin, No. 11, p. 19). The IEC instead deepened the error. But we see no reason, for our part, for the Canadian section to alter its course. The discussion must now be carried to the ranks of the world movement in the most systematic way possible.

Extensions of the Guerrilla Line

Since our last plenum there have been further examples of the extension of the guerrilla war "strategy" to ther areas of the world. One as occurred inside the Ligue Communiste where a central leader of the section has projected the application of the guerrilla orientation to France. Comrade Jebracq, a member of the Ligue Communiste Political Bureau and of the IEC, submitted his proposal along with three other members to the Ligue Communiste internal bulletin. Searching for some "breakthrough" in France, for a way to get around the mass Communist Party, and minimizing the possibility/**of a repetition of May-June 1968, the four comrades project a strategy for France which places actions of "minority violence" to the fore. They also stress the dangers of the legal status of the section, and project the necessity for changes in its method of organization in line with the orientation toward promoting acts of exemplary "minority violence".

(An English/translation of the Jebracq document will appear shortly. It is also discussed in section four of the "Balance Sheet.")

This document was not voted upon at the recent congress of the Ligue Communiste -- thus our French section neither adopted it nor rejected it. It remains the position of a significant current inside the LC, including at least one of its central leaders. The appearance of these views in explicit form is the most striking

** of a proletarian revolution along "classical lines," or even confirmation to date of our contention that the guerrilla orientation could not be confined to a single continent but would come home to roost in Europe. Given the absence of response from the majority leadership of the International, it represents a truly menacing development.

The positions of the United Secretariat majority on Bolivia and Argentina were adopted, while the two sections in the "Balance Sheet" dealing with events in the two countries were rejected. The Canadian comrades voted for these sections, and against the majority positions, in accordance with the established positions of the LSA/LSO.

Western Europe

The document "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe" (International Information Bulletin, No. 5 in 1972, Nov. 1972) produced a new dispute. The Canadian comrades voted against this document and for the critique of it presented by comrade Mary Alice Waters.

We could not support the document because it does not provide a correct basis for the work of our European comrades. To briefly summarize a number of our criticisms:

1. We do not think that it is possible to write a document setting out in detail how to build Trotskyist parties across an entire continent encompassing political situations as different as those in Spain and England, Greece and Sweden. It is no more possible for Western Europe than it is for Latin America.

2. A major problem of this document is that it substitutes vagueness and generality for an analysis of the concrete problems before us, and the real and immediate opportunities for party-building in the various countries of Western Europe. It takes no stand on the vital questions around which differences and debates have developed in the key Western European sections, such as the debate initiated in the Ligue Communiste by the contribution of comrade Jebracq, or the debate in every section over the character of social democratic parties. This is a disservice to the European sections, impeding political clarity.

3. It projects a narrow view of the radicalization, discussing it almost exclusively in the framework of job actions by the industrial working class and ignoring the vital importance of such manifestations of the class struggle as struggles for national liberation within Europe; for womens' liberation and for student demands. It thus substitutes the discussion of a limited schema for an assessment of the range of real, concrete challenges before us.

4. It rejects the line of the document adopted unanimously by the United Secretariat in 1969, "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International." (International Information Bulletin, No. 4 March 1969; Reprinted ~~in the~~ ~~compen~~dium "Discussion on the International Youth Radicalization".)

This earlier document outlines the central importance of youth and particularly student work to the building of Trotskyist parties, as well as the need for autonomous Trotskyist youth groups. The Western European document presents a wrong line on this question. It endorses the liquidation of our youth groups throughout Europe.

5. It contains, in section 19, a very dangerous projection for the struggle against repression, which points, not to the central role of mass action, and of self-defense actions which grow out of the mass movement, but to the "exemplary role" of minority violence and even armed minority action. This is not only entirely wrong, it is clearly a bridge to the Jebracq guerrilla-ist projection for Europe.

6. It also contains what could be called "vanguardist deformations". While section 5 on "the appearance of a new vanguard" describes a real phenomenon facing our movement, the document contains errors and confusion on how our movement should deal with this new challenge. In section 17, for example, it takes as one of the starting points for determining what campaigns we should wage "carefully chosen issues that correspond to concerns of the vanguard (and that) do not run against the current of mass struggles." That is wrong. We begin with the objective needs of the working masses, and search for ways to lead struggles around these demands. Tailoring our orientation to the "vanguard" can lead us away from a mass orientation; this has already occurred in a number of instances in Europe.

On the decisive question, that of the prospects of the national organizations of the Fourth International developing into mass parties capable of leading the struggle to power, the resolution contains a strange ambibuity. After projecting a 4-5 year deadline before the decisive battles are fought, the resolution goes on to rule out the "tactic" of massive recruitment to our national sections ("massive organic growth"), and projects instead "our main goal (as that) of winning political hegemony within the mass vanguard" (p. 14). A few sentences later, it holds out the task of transforming the vanguard, "making it an adequate instrument for regenerating the organized workers' movement." What does this really mean? Does it mean that we cannot anticipate "massive organic growth" in the 4-5 years before the "decisive battles" are fought? Does it mean that in this light, we must envisage forging an "adequate instrument" that is something less than a Leninist revolutionary party? This ambiguity needs rapid clarification.

7. Despite its ouvrierism, the document fails to give concrete direction for our work in the unions, limiting itself to proposals for propaganda around a few general themes. It does not address itself to some of the vital transitional demands we should be raising. Similarly, the document, despite its wealth of descriptive material, does not outline a strategy which can effectively break the workers, currently under the influence of the

Stalinist or Social Democratic parties, from their misleaders. The document states that the period of entrism is over; and that mass extra-parliamentary action is essential. But this is far too limited to constitute an effective strategy for winning the leadership of millions of workers.

8. The resolution affirms the correctness of the tactic of entrism *sui generis*, and projects it as a valid model for possible use in the future. This tactic, entailing the dismantling of an effective public face and open activity by Trotskyist forces, combined with their entry into mass Stalinist or social democratic formations for a prolonged period, proved disastrous in its application in Europe and elsewhere in the period 1951-69. The resolution is wrong to ask in this way for a vote on the history of the movement. In and of itself, the projection of entrism *sui generis* as a valid model requires a vote against the resolution.

A forthcoming International bulletin will contain a more developed critique of the Western European resolution. Finally, it should be noted that comrades Adair and Williams, members of the (minority) Tendency in the British section voted against the document, and that the "Crossroads" tendency of the Spanish sympathizing organization, representing a majority of the organization, also disagrees with it.

Vietnam

Other new and important differences surfaced during the discussion of the projected 9-point Vietnam accord. We are all aware of the significance of Vietnam, for so many years the center of the confrontation between world imperialism and the revolution, and the center of revolutionary politics.

A minority of the United Secretariat presented a short statement outlining its view of the October accord. This statement follows the lines of the analysis which we have expressed in our own press. The United Secretariat majority statement, though three times longer, was unclear on a number of key points.

The majority fails to reiterate our principled refusal to grant imperialism any right to impose any concessions whatsoever on the Vietnamese people. It is one thing if the Vietnamese feel they must, under incredible pressure, negotiate a compromise. But we are under no such pressure, and it is our responsibility to oppose imperialism's demands for concessions.

The majority resolution did not pose the necessity of continuing to advance the central slogan of total and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. Rather importantly for us in Canada, the draft said nothing about opposition to any form of peacekeeping or truce supervision by outside powers. (The latter two criticisms were accepted by the majority reporter, comrade Mandel, who said the final draft would make the necessary additions.)

The most important failure of the majority statement is that it does not take a stand on the most burning question facing each and every section of the world movement -- do we call for support to the accords or not? It can only offer the general theme of "for total victory" for our work. But no one knows what such a theme means in real life. The text refuses to come out either for "Sign Now" or for "Out Now". It suggests that this question should be discussed further. It is a sad day when the leadership of the World Party of the Socialist Revolution finds itself unable to take a position at this, the turning point of the very struggle that has been for so long at the center of the world revolution.

The majority statement omits the clear opposition to any governmental coalitions which include bourgeois forces that is expressed in the statement of the minority. It fails to characterize the Vietnamese Communist Party as Stalinist. And most important of all, it expresses confidence in the ability of this leadership to carry through the revolutionary process in South Vietnam to victory -- a confidence which is unwarranted either by the past record of this leadership, or by its present program.

The Vietnam discussion revealed other important differences which we could not pursue adequately for lack of time. Comrade Mandel in his report stated his opinion that the South Vietnamese CP will not lay down its arms. A major reason for his thinking so? They laid down their arms in 1954, and paid a terrible price for it; they surely will not do the same thing again today. Comrade Ali said that since Stalinism is by nature counter-revolutionary, and since the Vietnamese CP is actually leading a revolution, it cannot be Stalinist. (This comment recalls discussions in the International many years earlier on the Chinese revolution and the nature of the Chinese CP.)

Comrade Mandel said that the settlement was not a setback; neither was it a victory. Yet comrade Sterne on the other hand expressed his confidence that a settlement along the lines of the 9 points "should mean a favorable outcome for the revolutionary forces in Vietnam," and this was the message he conveyed to the convention of the YS/LJS on behalf of the Ligue Communiste.

It is worth noting that comrade Mandel in his report for the majority of the United Secretariat said that comrades Ali and Sterne would supplement his report. One wonders therefore what is the position of the majority on these questions, or whether in fact they have a position.

In short, the draft majority statement on Vietnam (which has appeared in edited form in the January 15, 1973 Intercontinental Press -- ed.) is seriously wrong on several key issues. It fails to give concrete direction to our antiwar work. And it deliberately avoids taking a clear stand on some basic questions. The reason for the ambiguity is that the comrades of the majority could not agree among themeselves. For example, the Ligue Communiste is campaigning vigorously around the slogan

-"Nixon must sign" the accords, which it qualifies as "an important victory," while the IMG polemicizes vigorously against the "sign now" position and calls for immediate and total withdrawal (while also calling "for total victory" for the PRG-NLF.)

The Canadian delegates voted against the majority position, and for the minority report and statement.

For A Democratic World Congress

We also voiced our concern and dissatisfaction with the slow pace of translation and distribution of the international bulletin. This was far from the first time we had raised this matter, yet despite the many assurances we have received, there remains a truly massive backlog of material yet to appear in French. We must anticipate that following the IEC, and as the World Congress approaches, the volume of documents submitted will grow appreciably. It is hard to see how this backlog can be reduced unless fundamental changes are made. For there to be a democratic World Congress, the ranks of the world movement must have access to all the main contributions and responses, in at least the main languages, in adequate time for them to be fully considered and discussed. This is all the more important at the present stage in the International when the overwhelming majority of members have joined since 1969, and when major political differences exist between substantial sectors of the movement.

This was one of the reasons which caused comrade Hansen to argue that the World Congress should be postponed several months, at least to the end of the year, to allow more time for document translation, distribution and discussion.

The other reason cited by comrade Hansen has the new situation created by the existence of two tendencies in the International (which I will explain in a moment). While this can be a normal development in the internal life of our movement, when deepening differences appear, it does involve dangers. There have already been splits in a number of Trotskyist groups. A discussion which is rushed due to the imminence of the World Congress can only heighten the danger; more time would allow each tendency to establish better control over the situation and prevent rash actions by their supporters. Delay would also allow the movement to better adjust to the functioning of tendencies.

Comrade Mandel answered by acknowledging the delay in publication of the international bulletin, assuring us that his international tendency accepted the responsibility for insuring that at least in French, the backlog would be eliminated "in the coming weeks." It was his view that postponement of the World Congress would only prolong the discussion, increasing the number of bulletins to be published and therefore the backlog;

that there is already a great volume of material before the membership at the present time, and that the members "could be snowed under if too much more were published; and that the discussion" has already lasted quite a long time. We need soon to take a decision and move into action in applying the majority line, he stated.

We were not convinced by this answer, and voted for postponement. We do not think that the ranks are snowed under with material. Our own experience shows that the comrades are quite capable -- in fact, most anxious -- to assimilate any and all available information on the disputed issues. The problem in Europe has been that much of this material has not been available, and even where it has been, the leaderships of the sections have been slow to organize the discussion; the process is only now beginning in Europe. As for the backlog, the Lorenzo contribution; "The Only Road" as well as the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the PRT-C; and the "Balance Sheet" have yet to be translated, among others. This represents a very large number of pages, and in addition, each of them will surely provoke responses. There is also the material discussed at the IEC meeting which will go into the bulletin, and responses to it. It is clear that the problem of documentation will be a very big one indeed. To discuss all this material will also require a certain period of time.

The refusal by the majority to postpone the Congress poses some very serious dangers: for example, will there be a cut-off date for submissions that is so early that it stifles vital contributions? In the light of the backlog and delay in translation, distribution and discussion of documents, will the rank and file of the world movement have the material and time necessary to make a considered judgement of the issues in dispute? A World Congress held without a truly democratic or adequate discussion among the ranks would lack any political authority in the eyes of the world movement.

Under the pressure of an imminent World Congress and a tendency struggle to win a majority at it, a succession of organizational disputes could arise which would generate great heat. We hope that as the problems begin to make themselves appear, the majority leaders will reconsider their position.

Tendency Formations

The authors of the "Balance Sheet" declare that the refusal of the majority leadership to pull back on the guerrilla orientation in Latin America, in the light of all the evidence, and their extension of the error to other areas, has provoked a crisis within the Fourth International. It is now necessary to form an ideological tendency to struggle "to resolve the crisis," they conclude.

The leaders of the majority at the IEC responded to this call for a tendency by calling for a counter-tendency at the IEC. They called for their tendency on the basis of three points: support for the Western European resolution, reaffirmation of the guerrilla orientation in Latin America, and support for a greater centralization of the International.

The founders of this tendency declare that the division over the Western European resolution shows that more than just a dispute over Latin America is involved. I would certainly agree that the issues are wide. It has been leaders of the majority who, up to now, had sought to portray the guerrilla orientation as a special strategy for Latin America alone. They denied the contention we and others advanced that the Latin American difference raised the questions of our method of party-building, of how to use the Transitional Program, how to fight repression, and how to win the masses. We had warned that the errors were of a general character: either they would be corrected or else they would be extended.

The widening of the areas of difference so graphically recorded at this IEC meeting in no way diminishes the importance of the testing of the line in Latin America. On the contrary, that continent provides two glaring demonstrations of the gravity of the error. The consequences could be no less serious if the error were extended to other areas.

The tendency dispute has already been injected into the Canadian movement. The IEC majority comrades decided not to submit their tendency statement to the membership of the world movement through the internal discussion bulletin for a while. However, they apparently have made it quickly available to a selected group of comrades around the world. In his summary to the convention of the YS/LJS the reporter for the Revolutionary Communist Tendency's international positions read out the text of the IEC majority tendency call. It was to say the least highly irregular to see the call read to members of our youth movement and to sympathizers (i.e. to non-members of the Canadian section) before the Central Committee of the section had been permitted to read it, let alone discuss it.

Comrade Sterne, a member of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency, has met with the RCT to discuss developments in the international, as well as the possibility of the RCT's joining the tendency. It seems clear that the international majority leadership is moving very rapidly to attempt to crystallize forces behind its tendency across the world,-- but without yet submitting its tendency call to the ranks of the entire world movement.

Yesterday the Central Office received the following statement signed by the Coordinating Committee of the RCT: "The Revolutionary Communist Tendency of the Canadian section of the Forth International has discussed the call for an international majority tendency. We unanimously accept the terms of the call. Furthermore, we call upon the leadership of the international majority to centralize the discussions of future documents."

The leadership of the Canadian section, for its part, has had a clear line on the disputed question inside the Fourth International for many years now. These positions mean that we should now very seriously weigh how we want to respond to the call by comrades Blanco, Hansen, Moreno, Lorenzo and Camejo for the formation of a tendency. In the light of the latest developments I have reported to you, it would be logical that leaders of our section would want to participate in this tendency.

However, the Political Committee is not proposing that this body take action on the call for formation of a tendency at this time. You have just received the "Balance Sheet"at this plenum, and will want time to read the entire document, consider the implications of tendency formations, and discuss it. At a later stage, certainly by our convention, appropriate action will be in order. In the interim, the Political Committee will be guided in its actions by the line of this and previous reports adopted by it. This gives it the lattitude to take any action which could become necessary in the interim.

Prospects are excellent in this struggle to win world Trotskyism to our position on the disputed questions. The motions advanced by the leaders of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency were adopted by votes of 15-18 to 11 at the IEC. While the "International Majority Tendency" can thus claim to represent a majority of the IEC, there is no reason to believe that they will have the support of a majority of the Fourth International at the time of the World Congress. The International has experienced a qualitative expansion since 1969, and there have been significant political shifts. To cite two examples: the Spanish sympathizing organization is the second-largest group in Europe. A majority of the group agrees with us on Latin America and is opposed to the Western European resolution. A majority of Trotskyists in Latin America agree with us in opposing the line of the document for that continent adopted by the last World Congress. This Latin American majority includes a significant number of comrades outside Argentina.

We cannot know what the reaction of leaders or members of many groups will be when they are finally able to read the documentation and hear speakers present both views; but we have every reason for optimism. With a democratic pre-convention discussion, and democratic representation of the real forces of world Trotskyism at the Congress, there is every chance that we will win a majority there.

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Conclusion

The meeting of the International Executive Committee recorded the reaffirmation by the majority of its guerrilla strategy, as well as its rejection of our contention that concrete experience with this line has yielded a very heavy negative result. It recorded in addition the broadening of the differences to encompass new questions, notably on party-building in Western Europe and on Vietnam, as well as the widening of the scope of the divergences to the point where we will soon face two ideological tendencies organized on a world scale. A dangerous decision not to postpone the World Congress was also made. In summary, then, the Fourth International faces an internal crisis which can only be resolved through a deep-going political struggle.

Because the "Balance Sheet" and Western European documents have been before you only a short time, the comments I have made on them are not included in the general line of this report; nor are my comments on material presented to the IEC which you have not yet seen. The general line of this report does specifically include the positions presented on: the meaning of the Bolivian and Argentine events, and of the majority's course; our position on Vietnam; the democratic organization of the World Congress; and theccourse of our section.

With those clarifications, on behalf of the Political Committee, I move the adoption of the general line of this report.

March 28, 1973.

(M)

League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

Discussion Bulletin 1972-73

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Number 48 April 14, 1973 $1.40

For Internal Circulation Only

DID THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE SUPPRESS THE GERMAIN DOCUMENT?

by Art Young

The RCT implies that the Political Committee is keeping the Germain document "In Defense of Leninism..." out of the hands of LSA/LSO membership. It demands that the PC "immediately publish the document." The fact is that the publication of the internal bulletin of the Fourth International is under the control of the United Secretariat; the English-language bulletin is not published in Canada. At the time of receipt of the RCT resolution, the Canadian section was still waiting to receive the printed document.

The RCT declares its support for the Germain document and has included it in the platform which it has submitted to the branches for a vote. The RCT is asking that comrades vote for a document which they have not yet been able to examine, or to hear discussed.

The violation of our democratic-centralist norms involved in the private circulation of this document, and the problem it poses for the movement, was dealt with in an earlier letter from the Central Office, which follows.

......../58

LSA-LSO CENTRAL OFFICE

334 Queen Street W.
Toronto 133, Ontario
April 2, 1973.

To: All branch organizers and CC members:

Dear comrades,

The Central Office has come into possession of a copy of a document entitled "In Defense of Leninism: In Defense of the Fourth International" written by comrade Ernest Germain and destined for the International Internal Discussion Bulletin.

The submission of this document to the International Internal Discussion Bulletin was authorised by the January meeting of the United Secretariat. At the date of writing, the document has, however, not been cleared for publication, on decision of comrade Germain himself, in order to allow him to append some additional material to the text.

Several parts of this wide-ranging document are devoted to an attack on the Canadian section, raising issues such as our NDP orientation, Canadian nationalism, and Quebec. Despite the fact that the document has not yet been published in the International Bulletin, copies are known to be circulating in Canada among a limited and selected range of comrades. The document has not only circulated within the Revolutionary Communist Tendency; it has also been made available to a selected range of comrades outside the RCT.

Such an approach violates an important norm of our movement. Our pre-convention discussion is carried on openly, under the jurisdiction of the constituted leading bodies of this movement. The submission of pre-convention discussion documents to the internal discussion bulletin is not merely the right of members; it is their responsibility. Only in this way are all members able to read, examine, and reply to the written statements circulated as part of the discussion. The circulation of documents on a private basis, to a selected range of members, denies the democratic rights of the membership as a whole to participate in the discussion. It is thus a violation of the norms of democratic centralism.

Our 1968 convention adopted a statement on "Our Organizational Character" which reads in part: "It is inevitable that differences develop in the movement. A properly conducted discussion of differences where all comrades hear all points of view and the whole movement is drawn into the discussion helps to hammer out a correct line and educate the membership. Concentration on private discussions on the fringe of the movement tends to give comrades involved a one-sided view, lines them up quickly and prejudices their thinking before they have heard the open party debate and warps their capacity for objective political judgement." (p. 7)

In the case of the Germain document, certain comrades have been made privy to information and arguments which other comrades of our section, and the world movement as a whole, have yet to see.

When declared tendencies exist, drafts of documents in preparation are fre-

(Germain document/ con't)

quently discussed among their members prior to their submission to the internal discussion bulletin. Tendencies do not, however, have the right to set up systems of private document distribution,to slip unpublished documents into the hands of members they hope to influence, without making these documents available to the movement as a whole, and without permitting contrary views to be heard.

Tendencies do not have the right to set up private discussion circles, or educational classes, which aim to convince members of their views, outside the democratic framework of branch discussion, in a closed circle where their view alone can find expression. Such activities are contrary to the norms of democratic-centralism.

The Political Committee discussed this situation at its meeting on March 24. Faced with the fait accompli of the selective circulation of the Germain document it felt it had no choice but to make it available, to the best of its ability, to all members of the section. The document is a very long one, too long to permit us to reproduce it entirely. However, the Central Office has now xeroxed the parts of the document which attack the Canadian movement. We have mailed one copy of that to each branch, which should hear this letter read during its next meeting. A copy of the Germain document's xeroxed section should be posted so that all comrades can have access to it.

Comradely

Art Young

Art Young

Organizational Secretary.

Postscript: April 3, 1973.

Those responsible for the publication of the English language International Internal Discussion Bulletin received authorization today from comrade Germain to publish his text. It will be available to all comrades very shortly. The Cental Office has asked that special arrangements be made for two copies of the document to be airmailed to each of the larger branches, direct from the print shop, as soon as it comes off the press. Bulletin orders will otherwise be filled according to our regular procedures.

A.Y.

Lowell

LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION/LIGUE SOCIALISTE OUVRIERE

PRE-WORLD CONGRESS SPECIAL CONVENTION
INTERNAL DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Contents: Political Committee Statement on Popular Frontism, adopted, November 18, 1973

Vol. 2 in 1973, No. 1 November, 1973 -10¢-

POLITICAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON POPULAR FRONTISM

1. The discussion in the Fourth International has revealed an important difference on the question of popular frontism. This has come to light both over the question of the Unidad Popular (UP -- Popular Unity) in Chile, and the Union de la Gauche (Union of the Left) in France.

The "Draft Political Resolution" submitted by the IEC Majority Tendency (International Internal Discussion Bulletin, vol. X, no. 20) denies that the Chilean Unidad Popular was a popular front formation, the view formerly advanced by the United Secretariat, in its unanimous statement of December 1971.

In France, the ex-Ligue Communiste gave critical support to the Union of the Left in the 1973 elections. This stand was criticized by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in its May 28, 1973 letter to the Ligue Communiste Political Bureau (IIDB vol. X, no. 14), which views the Union of the Left as a class-collaborationist electoral alliance of the popular front type. The leaders of the ex-Ligue Communiste reject the main line of the SWP's criticism, and reaffirm the correctness of their support to the Union of the Left, in their reply "The Mote and the Beam" (IIDB, vol. X, no. 18)

called it incipient P.F.

2. The Chilean Popular Unity was a programmatic electoral alliance formed to nominate a single candidate of the "left" in the 1970 presidential election. While its electoral strength rested on the mass base of the Communist and Socialist parties, the UP also included smaller parties which were not working class in character. While paying lip service to the long-range goal of socialism, the Unidad Popular's concrete program was class collaborationist, limited to reforms which would not break Chile from the grip of capitalism. In order to win Christian Democratic support in the Congress for his election as president, Allende pledged not to change the armed forces, the judiciary, the bureaucracy or the educational system. Allende's cabinet included, as well as leaders of working class parties, politicians from bourgeois parties, and, during certain crucial periods, representatives of the armed forces.

essentially reformist not P.F.

3. While admitting that the Allende regime "possesses several features of a Popular Front government, of collaboration with bourgeois parties," the "Draft Political Resolution" insists that "from the start, it differed from a classical Popular Front regime by the fact that it openly proclaimed its resolve to enter upon the road to socialism, and that it openly based itself on the organized labor movement." (P. 10)

4. The Union of the Left in France was a programmatic electoral alliance launched by the Socialist and Communist parties which later embraced a grouping of politicians who had broken from the bourgeois Radical Party. It ran a common slate of candidates in the 1973 French legislative elections. Like the Chilean Unidad Popular, the Union of the Left had a reformist and class-collaborationist program, although it proclaimed socialism to be its ultimate goal.

5. The analysis of the leaders of the ex-Ligue Communiste in "The Mote and the Beam" of the Union of the Left is essentially the same as that of the IEC Majority Tendency of the Chilean Unidad Popular. Unlike the Popular Front leaders of the 1930's, according to the Ligue Communiste Political Bureau, the Union of the Left leaders "present their alliance as the means for realizing, by a parliamentary and peaceful road, an intermediate democratic stage of short duration for the transition to socialism." (P.13) This they contrast to the 1936 Popular Front which claimed only "to bar the door to fascism." As well, they argue, the 1936 Popular Front was initiated and dominated by the bourgeoisie through the Radical Party, while the 1973 Union of the Left was initiated and dominated by the Communist Party, and included only an insignificant breakaway from the main bourgeois parties. On this basis, they justify their stand of critical support to the Union of the Left in the second and deciding round of the 1973 elections.

6. The Draft Political Resolution does not say what tactical or strategic conclusions it draws from the view that the Unidad Popular was not a "classical Popular Front." It does not indicate whether it would consider political support of the Unidad Popular, or of the Allende candidacy of the UP in 1970, permissible tactics. The Ligue Communiste, however, clearly drew far-reaching conclusions from its analysis of the Union of the Left, an analysis based on a similar view of popular frontism. The Ligue Communiste not only denied that the Union of the Left was popular frontist in character; it gave critical support to this coalition in the 1973 French legislative elections.

calls U of L P.F.

In our view critical support for either one of these coalitions would have represented a fundamental violation of Trotskyist principles.

calls for [illegible] L.C.

7. The IEC Majority and the ex-Ligue Communiste defines as "classical Popular Fronts" those of the 1930's. But this is thoroughly misleading. Popular Frontism was not a new policy in the 1930s -- it was only a new name invented by the Stalinists.

"For it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the Popular Front is the February 1917 revolution. From February to October the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries who represent a very good parallel to the 'Communists' and Social Democrats, were in the closest alliance and in a permanent coalition with the bourgeois party of the Cadets, together with whom they formed a series of coalition governments." (Leon Trotsky, The Spanish Revolution, p. 220)

8. If the "greatest historical example" of popular frontism is kept in mind, it is immediately clear that the IEC Majority's programmatic differentiation between and "classical" Popular Fronts and the Unidad Popular and Union of the Left is invalid. The Union of the Left, as the ex-Ligue Communiste points out, was for socialism after "an intermediate democratic stage". The IEC Majority resolution does not say so, but this was exactly the perspective of Popular Unity in Chile. Allende, to win mass support, talked about socialism often, but it was always in the future, after the "democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchical" stage.

There is no essential difference whatsoever between this conception and the 1917 program of the Mensheviks. It is the Menshevik theory of stages, which Stalin adopted. At different times the Stalinist-Mensheviks verbally emphasize either the democratic stage or the socialist stage, by it remains one and the same theory. We cannot base our policy on the verbal shifts of Stalinism.

9. Much has been made of the "weakness" of the bourgeois formations in the Chilean and French electoral blocks. What is crucial is the essential purpose of these alliances, which is to form a coalition government with a sector of the bourgeoisie. There is nothing new in the fact that such alliances contain only very weak bourgeois parties - or, for periods, no bourgeois parties at all. In Spain in 1936 the Stalinists and Social Democrats very rapidly became the leadership of the Popular Front. The policies of the Popular Front were Stalinist and Social-Democratic policies. The bourgeois parties in the coalition lacked any social base - they were, as Trotsky, wrote only "a phantom of the bourgeoisie". Despite this the coalition was based on subserviance to the bourgeoisie. Trotsky considered that a vote for the Popular Front, or a vote in the parliament for a Popular Front budget, would be treachery.

10. There are important differences between the popular fronts of 1917, 1936 and 1973. And there are important differences between the popular fronts in Chile and France in 1973, just as there were differences in the 1930s between the popular fronts in France, Spain and Chile.

We must take these differences into account in deciding our propagandistic and agitational approach to the supporters of each.

But these differences are not qualitative. Each is popular frontist in character -- a programmatic electoral bloc which has as its reasons for being the creation of a class-collaborationist government.

11. It is permissable to give critical support, in certain circumstances, to political parties of the working class which have a reformist and class-collaborationist program. In such cases, we do not support their program or their pro-capitalist leadership; our support is based on their character as parties which form part of the working class movement. Our stand of critical suppport to the New Democratic Party falls in this framework -- we do not support the program or leadership; but the NDP's character as a labor party.

But a class-collaborationist electoral block, a popular front, has no essentially working class character; it is not a political tendency within the labor movement. Its essential class character is different from the character of the working class parties which may account for most or even all of its electoral base. The essence of the Union of the Left and Popular Unity was class collaborationism. In choosing to reject the designation "popular front," the IEC majority and the ex-Ligue Communiste make secondary and superficial features the deciding factors.

12. The Allende government in Chile was bourgeois in its class character. Its program was based in the last analysis on defense of the capitalist order, and it ruled within the framework of the bourgeois state. We give no political support to such a government. While defending the Allende government against the threat of right-wing overturn, we have no confidence in it; we vote against its budgets in parliament; we call on the masses to break with the government and to fight for its replacement by a workers and farmers government.

13. This statement rejects the political analysis of Chile's Popular Unity Coalition of the IEC Majority Tendency's "Draft Political Resolution", and the line on the Union of the Left presented by the ex-Ligue Communiste Political Bureau in "The Mote and the Beam." It endorses the line of the SWP Political Committee's May 28, 1973 letter to the Ligue Communiste on the French elections.

LSA/LSO INTERNAL

INFORMATION BULLETIN

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The material in this bulletin is published by the Political Committee for the information of members of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

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SPLITTERS FROM CANADIAN SECTION JOIN REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST GROUP

Summary of the Events

On October 4, 1973, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) wrote the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO), Canadian section of the Fourth International, announcing its split from the section. The RCT, which had been supported by less than 15 percent of the LSA/LSO membership, walked out of the Fourth International to join the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), a small organization claiming to be Trotskyist which had been conducting a unity maneuver with the Canadian section.

The Revolutionary Communist Tendency's walkout was the third from the section in the last 15 months, completing the desertion of the forces who constituted themselves in March 1972 as the "Unified Minority Tendency."

The RCT walked out only six months after a convention of the Canadian section, where 85 percent of the delegates rejected its positions. The split occurred while the oral discussion in the branches preparatory to the coming world congress was in progress, and six weeks before the pre-world congress convention of the Canadian section.

The organizers of the carefully-prepared and planned walkout gave no reason for their action except for a reference to "events in Winnipeg."

What happened in Winnipeg was that the majority leadership of the branch refused to carry out instructions of the LSA/LSO Political Committee to build a public meeting there on September 19 where a member of the Political Committee would speak on the events in Chile. Furthermore, the Winnipeg branch leadership publicly attacked the meeting. The majority of branch members, all members of the RCT, endorsed these actions. At their next meeting they proceeded to suspend the branch members who had carried out the Political Committee's instructions to build the meeting.

Six Winnipeg branch members were given the opportunity to avoid harsh disciplinary action by a trial committee, by agreeing to accept the discipline of the elected bodies of the section and appeal to the coming convention. Instead, they reaffirmed to the trial committee that they rejected the right of the Political Bureau to decide to organize a public meeting of the section in Winnipeg. They were therefore expelled or suspended from the LSA/LSO on October 1 by a trial committee.

Four other branch members, who without giving cause did not appear before the trial committee, were suspended pending their making contact with the trial committee.

On October 4, before the Political Committee could meet to hear a report of the trial committee and review its findings, the RCT resigned from the section. The national convention of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) took place October 5-8. Leaders of the former RCT attended it and accepted positions on the RMG Central Committee that was elected there. On October 13, the former members of the RCT informed the LSA/LSO that they were "commencing" fusion negotiations with the RMG. Two days later the LSA/LSO received a letter from the "unified political committee" of the RMG declaring that the fusion had taken place.

The Line of the Fourth International Was Not an Issue

RCT steering committee members told LSA/LSO Political Committee representatives on October 10 that the real reason for their action was the expulsion of RCT members for "presenting the line of the Fourth International."

There is no basis for this charge. No member of the Canadian section has ever been charged or disciplined for presenting the line of the Fourth International.

The events in Winnipeg concerned quite another issue. The RCT members rejected the authority of the elected political leadership of the LSA/LSO, carried through a public split in the Winnipeg branch, and used their majority in the branch to suspend every single branch member who accepted the authority of the Political Committee.

The one other case in Winnipeg where the Political Committee took disciplinary action arose when another RCT member read excerpts from the internal discussion bulletin of the Fourth International to a public forum -- a breach of discipline that was completely premeditated, as the comrade admitted.

Nothing in the charges against any of the RCT members related to the political line of the Fourth International, or, for that matter, to the political line of the Canadian section or the political line of the RCT.

How it Began -- The Campaign Against the Coup in Chile

The RCT and its predecessors held a majority in the Winnipeg branch of the LSA/LSO, and in the Winnipeg Young Socialists, from August 1972 to October 1973. A minority within both organizations in Winnipeg supported the majority leadership of the LSA/LSO, and the positions of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency in the world movement. The internal life of the Winnipeg LSA was not without friction and crises. These were resolved, through the intervention of the Political Committee, without resort to disciplinary actions, for a year following the establishment of the RCT majority in Winnipeg.

The Winnipeg branch split publicly on September 19, 1973. The split did not occur over the right of RCT members to "present the line of the Fourth International." The issue was the right of the Political Committee to organize a public meeting within Winnipeg's city limits.

The Political Bureau, responsible for the implementation of Political Committee decisions, scheduled a meeting in Winnipeg for a spokesperson of the Political Committee on September 19, as part of an emergency country-wide campaign of defense actions and meetings, decided upon by the Political Committee in response to the coup in Chile. The scheduled speaker was Al Cappe, a member of the Political Bureau and executive secretary of the YS/LJS.

The RCT majority leadership in the Winnipeg branch refused to organize the meeting decided by the elected central leadership -- an unprecedented defiance of the authority of the Political Committee. It announced that instead it was going to hold a different meeting on Chile, to be addressed by Brett Smiley, a Toronto member of the RCT. These plans, it said, made it impossible to organize the meeting scheduled by the Political Bureau.

The Political Bureau contacted the Winnipeg executive a second time to insist that it carry out the decision to organize the September 19 public meeting on Chile with Cappe as speaker. Since the planned meeting with Smiley had been posed by Winnipeg RCT leaders as the barrier to organizing the meeting proposed by the central leadership, the Bureau instructed the Winnipeg branch to cancel the Smiley meeting, or reschedule it in a context which would not interfere with carrying out the decision of the Political Committee. The Winnipeg RCT leadership refused again to hold the Cappe meeting. The meeting was organized by five comrades in the branch who accepted the authority of the Political Bureau whether they agreed with its decision or not.

On September 19 Murray Smith, the Winnipeg branch organizer, spoke at the public meeting organized in accordance with the decision of the Political Committee. He disassociated the majority of the members of the section in Winnipeg from the meeting. It was not a meeting of the Winnipeg LSA, he said, it was organized by a minority faction within the branch. The real meeting of the Winnipeg LSA would take place two days later -- the meeting where Brett Smiley was to speak.

At a meeting of the Winnipeg branch held that evening, the RCT majority voted to adopt an executive report that rejected the authority of the Political Bureau to organize the Cappe meeting. It voted to proceed with the meeting for Brett Smiley. This meeting had now been publicly defined by the branch organizers as being rival to the one organized by the elected central leadership, and as a meeting organized by a rival grouping within the Winnipeg branch.

Three days after the Smiley forum the Winnipeg branch received charges laid against the five comrades in the branch who had built the meeting under Political Committee instructions. They were charged with a breach of branch discipline for carrying out the instructions of the elected central leadership in building the Chile campaign. Without waiting for a hearing or a trial on the charges, the branch majority suspended these five members from membership in the LSA/LSO.

Is the Political Committee Empowered to Organize a Public Meeting?

Charges relating to these events were laid before the Political Committee against ten members of the Winnipeg branch. The Political Committee sent a subcommittee to Winnipeg to conduct trials on these charges and to take appropriate action.

The Canadian section's leadership made every effort to find a solution to the dispute that would avoid disciplinary measures. Before the trial committee held its hearing in Winnipeg, Art Young, organizational secretary of the LSA/LSO, phoned Comrade Ernest Mandel, one of the two members of the IEC Majority Tendency on the United Secretariat Parity Commission, to inform him of the events in Winnipeg.

Comrade Mandel said this was the first he had heard about this dispute.

Comrade Young urged Comrade Mandel to contact Walter Davis, a member of the LSA/LSO Political Committee who was a leader of the RCT, with a view to helping overcome the crisis. Comrade Mandel indicated that he would do this.

The PC subcommittee conducting the trial posed questions to the six, to enable them to pull back from their stance of defiance of the authority of the Political Bureau to organize a public meeting in Winnipeg, and thus open the door to a resolution of the crisis without disciplinary action.

Only six of the charged members attended the trial. They were asked by the trial committee whether they accepted "that the members of the Winnipeg branch, when informed of the (Political Bureau's) decision to build the Chile meeting with Al Cappe as speaker on September 19, were obliged to carry out this decision." All six answered, "no." All six still rejected the authority of the elected central leadership of the LSA/LSO. For this reason, and for this reason alone, five of the accused were expelled from the LSA/LSO, and a sixth, a Central Committee member, was suspended.

Four other accused members failed on two occasions to appear before the trial body, without giving any reason. They were suspended from the LSA/LSO, pending another effort to have them contact the trial body.

RCT members of the Winnipeg branch refused to accept the authority of the Political Bureau to organize a public meeting in Winnipeg. RCT members split the branch over this question. They publicly attacked the meeting organized by the Political Committee, announced plans for a rival meeting, and defied the authority of the elected leadership of the section in proceeding with this meeting. They then suspended from membership and from all political activity those members who accepted the Political Committee's authority. They consummated the split both publicly and internally. At the trial, the accused members reaffirmed their defiance of the authority of the Political Committee. They thus left the leadership no alternative but disciplinary action.

Questions of Political Line Were Not at Issue

A great deal of argument took place in the Winnipeg branch around the conflicting political lines on Chile presented by the speech of Cappe and the speech by Smiley. The organizers of both meeting claim to have correctly presented the Fourth International's position on Chile. Both sides stated that their positions rested on the public statements of the Fourth International, interpreted in the light of changes in circumstances.

The trial committee ruled that this dispute was not relevant to the disciplinary charges against Winnipeg RCT members. "The comrades are not charged with presenting the line of the Fourth International," the trial committee report explained. "Nor are they charged with violating the line of the Canadian section. Therefore the question of the political line of the meetings on Chile addressed by Al Cappe and Brett Smiley is not relevant to the issue before us. Whether the accused comrades violated the political line of the Canadian section in advancing what they consider to be the 'line of the Fourth International' is not relevant to this case, and is not a factor in our decision."

Charges Relating to Political Line were Dropped

Six weeks earlier, another forum in Winnipeg had led to a disciplinary case. It ultimately led to the expulsion of an RCT member, Michael Tregebov. But here too, the question of "advancing the political line of the Fourth International" was not a factor in the expulsion.

Michael Tregebov spoke to a public meeting on August 16 on the question of Latin America. He informed the Political Committee before the meeting, and confirmed again after the meeting, that he had decided to present a line contrary to the decisions of the Canadian section's convention, to present a line which he considered to be "the line of the Fourth International." However, instead of presenting the public positions of the Fourth International, he read long excerpts from an internal document of the Fourth International -- "Bolivia, Results and Perspectives" -- submitted by the IEC Majority Tendency to the internal bulletin for the pre-world congress discussion and consideration.

Charges were laid against Tregebov for violation of the discipline of the section and for public presentation of an internal document.

On August 30, fourteen Winnipeg RCT members declared in a written statement submitted to the Political Committee that in planning the Tregebov forum, they had decided "consciously not to present the line of the Canadian section on Latin America, as it is articulated in Labor Challenge and convention resolutions," and thereby "to violate the section's discipline." (Emphasis in original) They were charged with a violation of the discipline of the section.

The Political Committee delayed a decision on these charges for several weeks, hoping that a political solution could be found. In addition to repeated discussions in the Political Committee, the Canadian representative on the United Secretariat discussed this problem in September with Comrade Mandel.

Comrade Mandel was informed of the Canadian leadership's concern over the matter, and of its desire to resolve it without resort to disciplinary action. He was asked to speak to the comrades in Canada and communicate to them any suggestions he might think helpful.

On September 30 the Political Committee dropped the charges against the 14 signers of the August 30 statement of the branch majority, and the charge against Tregebov on the question of violating the line of the section -- let alone being disciplined for presenting the line of the Fourth International.

Yet one charge against Tregebov remained. On his own authority, or in consultation with some others, Tregebov had arrogated the authority to present publicly an internal document of the Fourth International. This action of presenting the dispute inside the Fourth International to persons outside the ranks of our world party, occurred at a public forum where Tregebov was speaking in the name of the LSA/LSO.

The Political Committee felt that it was its responsibility to call a halt to such irresponsible actions which threatened the ability of the entire movement to pursue its internal discussion in a disciplined manner. Authoritative elected bodies of the Fourth International can vote to make internal material public. Individuals cannot take this upon themselves or no discussion can remain internal.

This was the issue that had to be resolved in the Tregebov case. It could be solved quite simply, through a statement by Tregebov that he would not repeat in the future such an action. No such statement was ever made. The Political Committee was left with no choice but to expel him.

The Political Committee Asks the RCT To Reconsider Its Course

The RCT split letter of October 4 stated that "we are terminating all financial commitments to the League for Socialist Action," that is, to the Canadian section of the Fourth International. It thus repudiated the conditions of membership in the LSA/LSO as determined by the LSA/LSO constitution, which specifies that regular payment of dues is a condition of membership in the section (Article VII, Section 1).

In its letter the RCT further specified that it "will no longer respect the authority or actions of the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action." The Political Committee is defined by the LSA/LSO constitution as the central leadership body of the section, acting with the authority of the Central Committee between Central Committee meetings.

The letter made clear that the RCT's members no longer accepted the constitution of the section. They no longer accepted the conditions of membership in the LSA/LSO.

Despite the categorical terms of the RCT's letter of resignation, the Political Committee decided, after weighing its contents, to request discussions with representatives of the RCT. The Political Committee wished to make a final attempt to reach a resolution of the organizational conflicts with the RCT, and to press the RCT once more to change its split course. It also wanted to determine whether the RCT's decision to split was final and irrevocable, and whether the RCT had discussed its decision with the leaders of its international tendency.

Walter Davis, named by the October 4 letter as "coordinator" of the RCT, agreed to meet with representatives of the Political Committee on October 9.

The PC representatives asked Davis whether the RCT letter had been discussed with the international leadership of the IEC Majority Tendency. Davis replied that he had discussed it with Comrade Vergeat. He had not been able to contact Comrade Mandel, he said. It was agreed to have another meeting the following day, to permit the RCT to attempt once more to contact Comrade Mandel, and to permit the RCT Steering Committee to give further consideration to its move.

On October 10, three members of the RCT Steering Committee met with three representatives of the LSA/LSO Political Committee. The RCT representatives repeated the positions taken by Walter Davis the previous day. They had nothing new to add.

The LSA/LSO representatives asked if the RCT could name any specific actions which the LSA/LSO could take which would help resolve the crisis. Davis said that the LSA/LSO should stop using the section's resources for factional purposes, and should readmit the expelled members of the RCT in Winnipeg.

The LSA/LSO representatives said they believed that the RCT's grievance on the question of use of the movement's resources was based on a misunderstanding, since the movement's funds had not been and would not be used for factional purposes. This misunderstanding could easily be resolved. As for Winnipeg, the Political Committee desired now as before to work out a political solution to the crisis there. In this framework the problems posed by disciplinary actions could be overcome. Davis of the RCT said that he agreed that a solution to the Winnipeg crisis could probably be worked out on paper. But, he said bluntly, the RCT in Winnipeg would prove unable to respect the agreement.

The LSA/LSO Political Committee representatives asked the RCT under what conditions it would consider retaining membership in the LSA/LSO. The RCT said that their condition was the resignation from the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction by the leaders of the Canadian section.

The LSA/LSO asked if the RCT would recognize the authority of a plenum of the LSA/LSO Central Committee, or of an LSA/LSO convention. The RCT representatives said no, not unless the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction supporters resigned from the faction.

The RCT representatives said that the RCT would operate as a "public faction," and that it would not be under the discipline of the LSA/LSO. They said it had not yet been decided under what name they would function publicly.

The LSA/LSO representatives asked if the RCT had any proposals on how to overcome the crisis. Davis replied that there was nothing the RCT could do.

The PC representatives did not know at the time that the persons with whom they were speaking had already joined an opponent organization and been elected to its central committee. They were representatives not of the RCT - it had ceased to exist - but of the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

The "RCT" -- Faction for a Day

In its October 4 letter announcing the RCT walkout, the RCT also renamed itself the "Revolutionary Communist Faction" (RCF).

This faction lasted only one day. On October 5, the members of the "RCF" joined the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), an opponent of the Canadian section, at the RMG's national convention. The convention elected leaders of the RCT, including Walter Davis, to the RMG Central Committee.

Davis informed the Political Committee that he had no time to meet with its representatives between October 5 and October 8 (when the RMG convention was taking place).

It was not until one week later that the "RCF" formally informed the LSA/LSO that they had joined the RMG. During this week, the leadership of the Canadian section, not knowing they had already joined the RMG, had made every effort to get the "RCF" to reconsider its split declaration.

The RMG, which claims to be Trotskyist, has carried out a unity maneuver with the Canadian section over the past year. During this time, it concentrated its efforts, not towards achieving unity in action with the section in interventions in the class struggle, but towards attacking the section and encouraging splits from its ranks.

Based on its experience with the RMG, the Canadian section came to the conclusion that this grouping was clearly operating as an opponent of the section. Any fusion without positive common experience would be an unprincipled adventure.

The RMG's unity maneuver scored its first success during June 1973, when 25 members and supporters of the RCT deserted the Canadian section and its sympathizing youth organization to join the RMG. In a letter to the LSA/LSO, the RMG justified the splitters' action. Their "unity" proposal was thus revealed as a crude raiding operation the aim of which was to chip away members from the Canadian section and recruit them to the RMG. The raid achieved its second victory in October, as the remaining members split from the Canadian section to join the RMG.

A Ban on Factions?

The RCT leaders had explained that they were not interested in attempting to resolve the real problems facing the Canadian section, such as the crisis of the Winnipeg branch. Even if other demands were met they still insisted that their precondition for functioning loyally within the movement was the resignation of the majority of the leaders of the LSA/LSO from the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

The majority of members of the Political Committee support the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction in the Fourth International. They reserve the right to caucus, and discuss questions that fall within the framework of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction program. But this fact hardly justifies a split.

The RCT claims that the adherence of a majority of Political Committee members to the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction, and their private meetings to discuss implementation of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction's program, "objectively dissolved" the PC by converting it into the leadership of a faction.

This is nonsense. When tendencies or factions exist it is necessary and normal that their members in a leadership body meet in private caucus periodically for discussion. Among other things, it facilitates the normal functioning of the leadership body. Both sides were doing this in Canada. Regular PC meetings were held; Davis attended and voted, attesting to their authority. A request for a PC meeting by Davis or any other member of the PC was always honored.

The further charge was made that the LSA/LSO had been converted into a tool of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) through the use of resources of the movement for the LTF. There is no basis for such a charge. Funds of the Canadian section have never been used for factional purposes. Every expenditure of funds was authorized and open to the scrutiny or challenge of members of the PC (including Walter Davis) and members of the Control Commission.

If the RCT believed the Political Committee to be misusing the movement's resources for factional purposes, its proper course would have been to press its case with the appropriate leading bodies of the movement.

The Control Commission of the LSA/LSO received a letter from Walter Davis on September 7, where he said he was submitting disciplinary charges to the Control Commission against the Political Committee majority on a number of questions. But he submitted no charges. Instead of asking the Control Commission to take action -- a body he had voted to elect and which contains a member of the IEC -- he walked out of the section.

The RCT's attacks concerning private caucus meetings and alleged diversion of funds are only a smokescreen, as is the demand that leaders of the LSA/LSO must resign from the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction. The smokescreen was aimed at covering up the preparations for a split and justifying it after the walkout and adherence to an opponent grouping.

The RCT presented the LSA/LSO with an anti-Leninist ultimatum when it insisted that the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction dissolve: an ultimatum against the constitution of the LSA/LSO; against the statutes of the Fourth International; against the rights of every Trotskyist.

Three Walkouts

The RCT's resignation is the third walkout in 15 months from the Canadian section by IEC Majority Tendency supporters.

The process began in July 1972, a month after the opening of a preconvention discussion in the Canadian section. Unwilling to wait for the verdict of the membership in convention on their views, the ten adherents of a grouping around Michel Mill in Montreal walked out. Three were members of the section; seven were members of its sympathizing youth organization, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. Their split has been condemned by the leadership of both the majority and minority tendencies within the International Executive Committee.

The preconvention discussion lasted 11 months. Over 90 written contributions by LSA/LSO members were printed for circulation to the membership. For almost a year, LSA/LSO branch meetings debated the disputed issues. The discussion resulted in a clear majority decision on all the main disputed issues. When the convention assembled in April 1973, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency won the votes of only 15 percent of the members, and received 15 percent of the votes of convention delegates.

At the close of the convention, RCT spokespersons pledged that the RCT would abide by convention decisions, and accept the authority of the leadership elected by the convention. The convention was accepted by all tendencies as a democratic expression of the decision of the LSA/LSO membership. RCT delegates joined in the unanimous election of the Central Committee.

Six weeks after the convention a second split began. Between June 3 and July 3, 1973, five members of the LSA/LSO and 21 members of the YS/LJS resigned and joined the RMG. The main justification they gave for their split was that they disagreed with the decision of the LSA/LSO convention on the need for a principled basis of unity with the RMG before any fusion should take place.

Their split was unanimously condemned by the United Secretariat, which reasserted the need for minorities to respect majority decisions of the section, and called on those who resigned to reverse their course and rejoin the section on this principled basis.

The October 4 letter of the RCT marks the third and culminating walkout. Twenty-eight members of the section, and one remaining RCT supporter in the youth organization, were listed as adhering to the RCT's split letter.

The decision of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency members to leave the Canadian section and join the RMG has been accompanied by a number of charges. The majority leadership is accused of operating in a factional manner. It is accused of not correctly carrying out the decisions of the Fourth International. It is accused of being wrong in insisting on the necessity for a principled basis of unity with groups like the RMG. It is accused of having made errors with regard to discipline in Winnipeg. No doubt further accusations will be thought up.

All these charges have one feature in common: they do not justify a split.

The Revolutionary Communist Tendency has a right to its opinions on these and other questions. The obligation of its members, as the United Secretariat said in reference to the second of the three walkouts, was "to recognize majority decisions, trying to change them within the normal limits of democratic centralism." The RCT refused to accept the authority of the elected leadership bodies of the Canadian section. It refused to recognize even their authority to organize a public meeting on Chile. It refused to wait for a convention of the section only six weeks away.

Drawing the logical conclusion from its own actions, it deserted the Canadian section of the Fourth International, thereby walking out of the Fourth International.

Political Bureau, LSA/LSO
October 19, 1973

APPENDIX I

Chronology of Key Events

April 20-24, 1973:	Convention of the LSA/LSO, Canadian section of the Fourth International, and election of Central Committee. Unanimously accepted as authoritative.
June 3 - July 3:	Split of five groups of RCT members and supporters from the Canadian section and its youth organization -- 25 in all.
August 16:	Public presentation of an internal document at a Winnipeg LSA meeting.
August 30:	Statement of 14 Winnipeg LSA members on August 16 forum.
September 13:	Political Committee decides on campaign on Chile.
September 16:	Bureau informs Winnipeg executive of planned Chile meeting in Winnipeg.
September 19:	Public meeting on Chile in Winnipeg organized by the Political Bureau, with Al Cappe of PC as speaker.
September 19:	Winnipeg branch meeting.
September 21:	Rival meeting on Chile, in Winnipeg, with Brett Smiley as speaker.
September 24:	Winnipeg branch suspends five members who built September 19 meeting.
September 30 - October 1:	Political Committee trial subcommittee meets in Winnipeg.
October 4:	Letter of the RCT resigning from the LSA/LSO.
October 5-8:	RMG convention. RCT members secretly attend RMG convention. RCT leaders secretly accept posts on RMG Central Committee.
October 9:	Political Committee discussion with RCT steering committee.
October 13:	"RCF" announces "beginning" of fusion negotiations with RMG.
October 15:	RMG announces results of raiding operation.

APPENDIX II

The RCT's Letter of Resignation

October 4, 1973

Dear Comrades of the LSA Political Committee:

Events in Winnipeg have confirmed our suspicions that previous actions of the Political Committee were leading in a direction of serious consequences.

Those events have led us to decide that we have no choice but to dissolve the Revolutionary Communist Tendency and reconstitute ourselves as the Revolutionary Communist Faction.

We will no longer respect the authority or actions of the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action.

We also wish to inform you that we are terminating all financial commitments to the LSA and will submit future financial commitments directly to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The Political Committee of the LSA has, by the decisions of its former majority, dissolved itself as a cross-section leadership and now functions as a leadership of a faction.

We will submit further documentation on this and related matters to the LSA and to the United Secretariat.

Communist greetings,

s/Walter Davis
Coordinator of the RCF

cc: USFI

APPENDIX III

The RCT "Fuses" With the RMG

October 15, 1973

Comrades:

We wish to inform the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction of the Canadian Section that the Revolutionary Communist Faction and the Revolutionary Marxist Group have fused.

The new formation will continue to be called the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

Communist greetings,
s/Walter Davis,
for the Unified Political Committee

OPEN LETTER FROM LEADERS OF THE SPLIT

October 15, 1973

To members of the LSA and copies to all sections of the Fourth International:

Comrades:

One week ago, the so-called Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action defined the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Faction to be a statement of split. We wish to resolve any confusion in the minds of comrades and state unequivocably that we did not and will not resign from the Canadian section. At the Toronto LSA Metro Assembly yesterday, members of the Revolutiolutionary Communist Faction were physically excluded from an internal meeting yet we have neither resigned nor been expelled.

Sometime ago, the majority of the Political Committee decided to transform itself into the "Leninist-Trotskyist" faction of the LSA and to "turn over all"the resources and cadr of the section" to the international faction which they supported. The one RCTer on the Political Committee challenged this action. While we recognize the right of comrades to constitute a faction, we do not accept that that faction has the right to use the resources of the section in a factional manner in the Fourth International simply on the basis that a particular faction happens to coincide with the majority of the central leading body of the section. No decision of the convention nor a plenum of the Central Committee authorized the PC majority to take such steps. The PC majority faction constituted itself formally on international issues yet it took unified positions on national issues and integrated itself and its decisions into the very life of the organization. It caucused outside of the PC on all issues and carried unified positions in the PC on all questions. This faction caucus, in fact, smothered the differences within its own numbers in order to impose its decisions on the political committee. The PC became nothing more than a body to formalize the decisions of a faction.

It is our view that the Political Committee of the Canadia section no longer exists and that a faction which has constituted itself only on the level of the Central Committee has overturned the elected leadership and norms of the section. The elements that made up the Political Committee are now divided into two factions. We have no reason at this point to believe that the Central Committee will not be similarly liquidated by the PC majority faction expecially if members of the RCF (elected as CCers by unanimous vote of convention) are excluded from the LTF plenum.

At the same meeting where the majority of the Political Committee constituted itself as a faction it laid charges of disloyalty against Michael T. of the Winnipeg branch for "carrying the majority line of the Ninth World Congress and therefore in direct violation of the line of the section". Walter D. challenged the validity of such charges, called for a Control Commission investigation and/ or minority representation on the investigative body established by the PC. The PC majority defeated him on every point and then proceeded to follow disciplinary actions completely outside of the norms of the section. The RCF restates that as Walter indicated on the former Political Committee we do not recognize the disciplinary actions carried out by one faction in a witchhunt against another.

Before the PC majority faction had reached any decision on the Winnipeg disciplinary cases (which had been extended to include charges against members of both tendencies in the Winnipeg branch), the PC majority supporters in Winnipeg established a separate headquarters and publically split the section along their preconceived notion of how the events would unfold. RCT members, the majority of the branch and the leadership of the branch, were subsequently attacked publically by the PC majority faction supporters and by PCer Al Cappe as being "on their way out of the Fourth International". Nothing justified such actions, comrades.

The PC majority faction representatives investigating charges in Winnipeg violated every norm in the hearings in Winnipeg and decided to expel comrades after a hurried "Kangaroo court". Phil C., John R., Al Cappe, and Joan N. did not take up any of the charges against their supporters in Winnipeg and, in fact, overturned interim disciplinary action without reviewing any of the evidence. The Revolutionary Communist Faction does not accept that any of the expulsions in Winnipeg were valid especially given they were completely the action of a faction in the leadership.

The Winnipeg expulsions and now the reading out of the Revolutionary Communist Faction complete a process launched by the PC majority at the LSA convention. At that time, the PC majority began to operate as an unprincipled bloc whose sole prupose was to drive the Revolutionary Communist Tendency out of the section. Later, with the declaration of a formal faction, it defined itself as a challenge to the elected international leadership. Having realized that its organizational offensive during the summer and early fall were inadequate to forcing the RCT out, the PC majority faction turned to less indirect means of resolving the RCT problem. The RCT had won new supporters to its positions and had lost only six members who resigned from the section since the LSA convention. Meanwhile the supporters of the PC majority began to drop away in increasing numbers in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal with no significant new recruitment to offset the losses. The suppressed letter of resignation of ----- , former CC member, and similar resignations in Montreal and Vancouver (such as another leading post office militant) stand in stark contrast to the relatively minor attrition of the RCT. The atmosphere inside of the LSA is such that criticism is no longer considered valid and individuals with critical minds are recurrently attacked in the most ludicrous and personalist forms. This is the reality faced by the LSA as it approaches the Tenth World Congress and it is a direct result of one year of escalating sectarian hostility to militants open to our ideas and the blind factional recruitment followed by the leadership over the past period. It is also very much a reaction to the growing and obvious influence of the pro-international majority Revolutionary Marxist Group whose presence as an independent Trotskyist force increasingly poses problems for the leadership. The RMG's press now represents a most significant pole in left thinking and the group's level of intervention far and away exceeds that of the LSA and the barely existent Young Socialists. How has the leadership responded to the RMG? As a fraternal group wanted in the Fourth International? As a welcome addition to Trotskyists forces in Canada? No, the leadership of the PC majority faction has engaged in hysterical smear campaigns most notably in the press. The comrades in other sections may not grasp that there are little grounds for the smear unless, of course, they read the Old Mole which has never returned the Labor Challenge's apolitical abuse. In external work, the LSA has seen fit not to engage in collaboration but rather sectarian maneuvers which have historically caricaturized Trotskyism in Canada. Chile solidarity work is but the latest example. The RMG, with relatively limited forces, responded very rapidly to the events in Chile, much earlier than the LSA and was able to draw into action layers that the LSA did not have the capacity to reach. While the RMG fought for the international majority line on Latin America, it stood solidly behind united action around principled areas of agreement. It also fought for the right of left-wing groups to put forward their positions (including both the LSA and the Maoists on several occasions). the LSA stood aside from the mobilizations until its comrades began to realize that the RMG's activity was winning it broad respect in the revolutionary and independent left. What then followed was an incredible spectacle but an all too familiar one, of the LSA leadership sending five times as many of its comrades to Chile Solidarity Committee meetings as it had sent on demonstrations.

For the LSA PC majority faction, "broadening a committee" is a catchword for organizational control. For the LSA PC majority faction, a "united front" is a committee with an LSA numerical majority and an imposed "democratic" slogan.

Before you finally attempt to close the doors of the LSA headquarters on the RCF and the RMG, comrades of the PC amjority faction, we caution you to consider what has been our influence in the LSA. As comrade Porter once commented, the RCT prevented the LSA from making serious errors that could have become strategic mistakes. We also caution the comrades of the United Faction represented by comrade Dowson in the PC majority faction to consider what our exclusion implies for your future.

The signers of this statement are members of the Central Committee of the Canadian Section of the Fourth International and we will continue to be such until a convention of the unified forces of Canadian Fourth Internationalists removes us. You want to expel us but you cannot justify it before the ranks of the international and we have not and will not resign. The faction now in control of the so called Politcal Committee has violated the norms of the section and objectively dissolved the leadership body of the section.

Nonetheless, we call upon the PC majority faction to engage in joint work with us. We have already proposed concrete steps to do so.

As always in questions such as these, it is the test of history that will weigh the correctness of our decisions. We ask the Tenth World Congress to assess the total balance of the experience of both factions in Canada and to judge for itself whether both sides have honestly acted in the interests of unity of Canadian Trotskyism. We are convinced that the record stands to affirm that the majority faction's actions have been divisive to Trotskyist forces in Canada and the building of the Fourth International.

Long Live the Fourth International!

Signed, Walter Davis Ruth Taillon Stu Sinclair
Murray Smith

COMMENT ON THE OPEN LETTER

The October 15 open letter of Davis, Taillon, Sinclair and Smith is signed by the four former members of the LSA/LSO Central Committee and leaders of the former Revolutionary Communist Tendency in the LSA/LSO. The four authors of the open letter led the RCT in its split from the Canadian section to join the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). The letter addressed to all section of the world movement, stands as an authoritative statement by the new leaders of the RMG on the split, a statement made immediately after the events it describes.

The open letter accurately portrays the splitter's chief reasons for their split. On six key points, it underscores the corresctness of the October 19 statement of the Political Bureau of the LSA/LSO, a statement whose line has been approved by the LSA/LSO Political Committee. The letter confirms that the key issue was the rejection by those who split of the authority of the section's convention, and of the leadership it elected -- as explained in the Political Bureau's statement.

1. The first reason given by the leaders of the split for their action is that the "majority of the Political Committee decided to transform itself into the 'Leninist-Trotskyist' faction of the LSA." The Leninist-Trotskyist Faction members are further accused with being in agreement not only on "international" but on "national" issues, with holding private caucuses, and with "imposing its decisions on the Political Committee". Such developments were sufficient for the splitters to declare that "the Political Committee no longer exists" -- and that they will not recognize its authority.

(The open letter "quotes" a "decision" of the Political Committee to "turn over all the resources and cadres of the section to the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction." No source is given for this "quotation", and no source exists -- the "quotation" is a fabrication. The Political Committee took no such decision, and the resources of the section have not been used for factional purposes.)

2. The open letter tacitly admits that there is no basis for charges that RCT supporters were driven out of the section for "presenting the line of the Fourth International."

It is true that a passing reference is made to "charges of disloyalty ...for 'carrying the majority line of the Ninth World Congress ... '." But the topic is then abruptly dropped. Once again, the "quotation" is a fabrication of the split leaders themselves. No such charges were laid. No member of the Canadian section has ever been expelled or otherwise disciplined for presenting the line of the Fourth International.

There is no further mention of this question in the open letter. It does not claim that any member of the Canadian section was disciplined for "carrying the line of the Fourth International." The open letter, like the statement of the LSA/LSO Political Bureau, does not consider this issue to be relevant to the split in the Canadian section.

3. The open letter like the Political Committee, traces the split's origin to the events in Winnipeg around the Chile defense campaign carried by the Canadian section. According to the open letter "the PC majority supporters in Winnipeg established a separate headquarters and publically split the section... " The reference to a "separate headquarters" is a total mystery -- no such action was taken. But the reference to a "public split" deals with the fact that two rival meetings were organized on Chile in Winnipeg on September 17 and September 19, one organized by the Politcal Committee, and another by RCT members who did not recognize the Politcal Committee's authority in this matter. The open letter differs with the Political Committee on which of these meetings should have been supported by Winnipeg LSA members, and lays blame for the split on those who carried out the Political Committee's decision. It agrees with the Politcal Bureau statement, however, on how the split originated in the events around the Chile defense campaign.

4. The open letter of the splitters does not challenge the accuracy of the charges against the seven RCT members in Winnipeg who were disciplined. It does not challenge that there were sufficient grounds for disciplinary actions.

The open letter gives two different reasons for its decision not to recognize these actions. First, according to the open letter the disciplinary actions of the Political Committee in Winnipeg have no validity because PC representatives "overturned interim disciplinary action without reviewing any of the evidence." In other words, the Politcal Committee is accused of not having recognized the suspension by the RCT majority in the branch of the five members of the Winnipeg branch who accepted the authority of the Politcal Committee.

It is true that a trial committee established by the Politcal Committee insisted on its right to hear evidence of members of the Winnipeg branch who had been suspended by the RCT majority in the branch. It is also true that the RCT held firm on its suspensions, refused to negotiate the question, and spurned the efforts of the Politcal Committee to ameliorate the Winnipeg situation. It did not take the elementary steps required to make a political resolution of the crisis in Winnipeg possible.

The authors of the open letter disagree with the Politcal Committee on whether these suspensions carried out by RCT supporters in Winnipeg were correct. But it agrees in viewing the problems posed by the suspension of the five non-RCT members of the Winnipeg branch as one of the two key factors which blocked a resolution of the crisis in Winnipeg.

5. The second reason given by the leaders of the split for not recognizing the disciplinary authority of the Political Committee is that the PC's actions were those "of a faction in the leadership." Once again, the splitters confirm that once a majority of the PC members had joined the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction, it no longer recognized the authority of majority decisions in the Politcal Committee. Like the Political Committee, the open letter considers the second key issue in the Winnipeg crisis to be whether RCT members could recognize the authority of the elected leadership body of the LSA/LSO.

6. The open letter justifies its actions with a lengthy description of the "correctness" of the politics of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, the organization it joined when it split from the LSA/LSO. It describes the supposed political successes of the RMG, and contrasts this with the supposed degeneration of the LSA/LSO. (Once again, its view does not correspond to the facts.)

There is nothing new about the open letter's criticisms of the political line of the LSA/LSO including its opposition to the decision of the LSA/LSO convention on the need for a principled basis for a fusion with the RMG. The open letter, however, reveals the reason for their split: the RCT rejected the perspective of working within the Canadian section to win a majority to its views. It regarded the Canadian section as beyond reform. It therefore left the LSA/LSO to join an opponent organization.

In each of these six points, the open letter confirms the October 19 statement of the Political Bureau.

The open letter neglects to mention their letter of October 4 which announced the split. This crude omission aims to leave the impression that the RCT was expelled without cause from the LSA/LSO.

The letter fails to mention that the RCT repudiated the responsibilities and duties of membership in the section. The RCT said it would not accept the section's discipline, and would not abide by its constitution. It would not accept the authority of any leading body of the section. The RCT said it intended to function as a public organization not under the discipline of the LSA/LSO. It implemented this intention by immediately joining an opponent organization, the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

What, then, do the authors of the October 15 open letter regard as the issues in the split in the Canadian section?

1. They hold that the majority of the Canadian section leaders, who joined the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction, acted in a factional manner. They are dead wrong. The Political Committee has faithfully applied the decisions adopted by the last convention.

2. They hold that errors in procedure were made in disciplinary actions carried out by the Political Committee. They are dead wrong. The Political Committee did everything possible to avoid disciplinary action.

3. They hold the Political Committee ought to have recognized the suspensions carried out by the RCT majority in Winnipeg. They are dead wrong. The suspensions were carried out in violation of the norms of democratic centralism.

4. They hold that the Canadian section was incorrect in insisting on a principled basis for fusion with the Revolutionary Marxist Group. They are dead wrong. An unprincipled fusion would have soon proved to be a disaster for the Canadian section.

5. They hold that the Canadian section is gripped by organizational decline and political degeneration, and that the revolutionary Marxist Group is forging ahead. They are dead wrong. The Canadian section was injured by a split backed by the RMG. But the section has survived worse blows.

Both the open letter of the leaders of the split and the Political Committee agree that these are the questions over which the split occurred. The open letter and the Political Committee disagree on which position is correct on each of these questions.

One fact, however, is unambiguously clear. Even if the Revolutionary Communist Tendency was right on each of these disputed questions, its obligation was to remain in the section, and seek to win a majority to its view. Even if the Political

Committee and the majority of the Canadian section was wrong on each and every one of these questions, it was no justification for the split.

The unprincipled nature of the split bodes ill for the future of the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The rationalizations and even the outright fabrications used to justify the split will plague the new jerry-built combination, serving as an example and precedent to be repeated when the first serious differences flare up.

John Riddell
Executive Secretary

October 29, 1973

NOTE: the "suppressed letter of resignation of John Bannon," referred to on page 16 of the Open Letter, was addressed to the Political Committee, and was shown to all members of the PC, including Walter Davis.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE POSITION ON UNITY WITH THE RMG

NOTE: The following is a synopsis of the report to the United Secretariat meeting of Sept. 10-11 by Art Young on the question of relations between the Canadian section and the Revolutionary Maxrist Group. Comrade Young made the report on behalf of the Political Committee of the Canadian section.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group is a recently-founded group in Canada which incorporates the members of two smaller groups, the Red Circle and Old Mole, which had engaged in a unity manoeuver with the Canadian section. It also includes a group of persons who split from the Canadian section and its youth group in June.

When the RC and OM forces first approached the section affirming their acceptance of the program and traditions of the Fourth International, and their willingness to abide by the section's discipline, the Canadian section greeted their initiative warmly. Comrade Crandall reported on this development to the United Secretariat one year ago, and expressed the hope that unity would prove possible.

To explore this possibility, the LSA/LSO entered into political discussion with them in order to clarify their views. From the beginning it insisted on the importance of developing collaboration in areas of common activity, and it made a number of suggestions of how this could be done.

But the RC and OM were not heading towards the section; in fact, their evolution was in the opposite direction. Major political disagreements with them became apparent very early. These did not mean that unity was impossible. But they made the test of practical work the crucial determinant. The section and the RC/OM proved unable to work together for any period in any significant field of activity. In fact, the work of the two forces more and more diverged, and even led to several public confrontations, notably in the struggle against the Vietnam war and in the fight against the leadership of the social-democratic labor party, the New Democratic Party. The different suggestions for collaboration made by the section were either turned down outright, or did not work out in practice.

A peculiar situation had developed. Common work had proven impossible between the two groups. Instead, different political lines were sharply counterposed in action in every major field of activity. If there was not a single area in which the section and the RC/OM could collaborate, how could they work together in a common democratic-centralist organization active in all areas? Unification was obviously premature; what was necessary was increased efforts to find ways to work together in order to lay the basis for unity.

Yet the RC/OM did not agree. It insisted that it be immediately admitted into the section.

The reason for this odd attitude soon became clear when some minority members split from the section and its youth group in June. A few days earlier, the RC and OM had formally fused to form the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The splitters declared they were leaving the section in order to build the RMG.

This split from the Canadian Trotskyist movement was a blow to the unity of the entire Fourth International and was condemned by the July meeting of the United Secretariat. But the RMG hailed the split, blaming the leadership of the LSA/LSO, and announced its intention to recruit the splitters to its ranks.

This revealed the real intentions of the RMG towards the section, and showed why it continued to pursue in action a course hostile to the section while all the while stating verbally its desire for unity. The LSA/LSO stated:

> "This attitude on the part of the RMG to those who have struck a blow against the Canadian Trotskyist movement, placing themselves outside and in opposition to it, is a hostile act against the LSA/LSO....(The RMG has) sponsored a split in the Trotskyist movement. Far from promoting the 'unity' of the Trotskyist movement, they have conducted a raid on the Canadian section of the Fourth International and its youth organization." (Labor Challenge, July 9, 1973)

Thus, within days of its founding, the RMG had a new component -- those who had split from the Trotskyist movement. The RMG continued to say that its members would function as a loyal part of the LSA/LSO if accepted, and obey discipline. Yet half of the organization was composed of people who found themselves unable to accept that discipline, concluding that the section was no longer a viable instrument to carry out revolutionary work.

The experience of the LSA/LSO demonstrates that the RMG is not interested in the unity of Trotskyist forces, but rather in splitting the Canadian section. The RMG's letter to the Secretariat, written two weeks after it announced its support of the split in Canada, clearly aims to provide cover for the splitting operation.

When the question of unifications and splits arises, the United Secretariat always seeks to act in such a manner as to reaffirm the authority of the section. It indicates by its comportment that the only way for revolutionaries to enter the world party is by joining one of its component parts, the national sections.

The LSA/LSO continues to strive for unity with the RMG on a principled basis. But in order for this to be possible, it is necessary for the RMG to take a clear stand in favor of the unity of the Canadian section and its youth group, and against splits. In addition, ways must be found for the organizations to come together in common work against the common enemy. This is the only road leading towards the RMG's entry into the section and the building of a united organization.

(c.1974)

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE
!SOLIDARIDAD CON LA RESISTENCIA CHILENA!

Nearly six months have passed since the bloody coup d'etat in Chile. The brutal repression continues: 20,000 are dead, 40,000 are interned in prisons and concentration camps where the junta practices its torture techniques; hundreds of thousands of workers have been fired and are without jobs; the cost of living has soared by 1400%.

The coup was the only logical answer for the local bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies in the face of escalating militancy on the part of Chilean workers and peasants -- many of whom had seriously begun to challenge the 'acceptable' framework of bourgeois democracy, through land occupations, industrial cordons, and mass demonstrations. What was at stake in Chile was not simply a national revolution but, in fact, the possibility of a continental revolution. The coup and the subsequent barbarity of the junta, is a sign that the international bourgeoisie will stop at nothing to maintain class privilieges and capitalist exploitation in Latin America.

The initial heroic resistance after the coup was followed by a strategic retreat in order to consolidate, both politically and militarilly, the forces needed to launch the long-term resistance to the junta's regime. The Chilean left has been organizing a united front to mount the offensive in the coming period. Sectors of the Socialist Party, the MIR, etc., are participating in the work of organizing the population for the eventual civil war. One thing is clear, the myth of the peaceful road to socialism has been shattered once more. The Chilean people will not accept a return to 'democracy' a la Frei -- they have already paid too dearly for the concessions that they accorded to their local bourgeoisie and the international monopolies. Whatever the final regroupment may consist of, we must be ready to support, politically and materially, the organization fighting to build the new socialist society.

The organizations aiding the Chilean resistance through various campaigns have a responsiblity to both defend the victims of repression, to raise funds for material aid, and to publicize the growing resistance movement. In order to smash the lies of silence from the capitalist media and inspire the development of a unified movement of solidarity with the Chilean resistance, the dissemination of knowledge about the resistance and the mobilization against the repression are critically important.

Those doing solidarity work must also understand the imperialism is not just American in Chile. Among other powers, Canada has been very busy. The 18-day rush to recognize the junta was, as Andrew Ross pointed out, to protect Javelin, Canada-ITT, Anaconda, plus Canadian government projects theselves, such as the selling of four military planes at bargain basement prices. Two Canadian banks have granted loans to Pinochet. Birds of a feather......

We must encourage and support those workers in Canada who protest against their companies' direct or indirect support of the junta. Professors and professionals who use their status to make public declarations in favour of the junta must be challenged. Canadian material and politically complicity must be exposed and confronted.

Finally, the question of political prisoners has been one which has shown the Liberal government to be most demonstrably running after the Chilean junta. Initial pressure last fall, forced the Cabinet to open the door to immigrants from Chile one small crack. Meanwhile, thousands of applicants have been deliberately delayed by the bureaucratic maneouvers of the Canadian government and its systematic co-operation with the Chilean security police in 'screening' applicants. The activity of the Canadian government has placed in danger many hundreds of activists in Chile. The refusal to grant political refugee status and the use of the immigration point system is but one example of Ottawa's crass attitude towards victims of repression. The refusal of the government to call for and actively seek the release of political prisoners held by the junta under the guise that this is an internal Chilean affair is an admission by the government that it accepts the imprisonment and murder of workers and peasants as a valid tool of capitalist rule.

Swedish Ambassador Edelstam's aid to refugees and exiles sought by the Chilean junta and his defense of the Cuban embassy in Santiago served to save many lives of worker and peasant militants including that of Peruvian revolutionary and Fourth Internationalist, Hugo Blanco. His efforts mark him as one of the very few representatives of bourgeois governments in Chile who refused to passively tolerate the brutal represssion which followed the coup. Edelstam's tour is an important step towards challenging the Canadian governments' policy with respect to Chilean refugees.

FREE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!

OPEN THE DOORS TO REFUGEES FROM CHILE!

END ALL AID TO THE CHILEAN JUNTA!

POLITICAL AND MATERIAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE RESISTANCE!

OUST THE GENERALS, WORKERS TO POWER!

Revolutionary Marxist Group
Sympathizing organization of the
Fourth International
(P.O. Box 103. Stn P, Toronto)

Unfortunately, political events sometimes clash, and tonite is one of those times. The RMG is holding a fund-raising benefit in support of some of the people who were arrested during the Artistic Woodwork strike this winter -- most of whom are faced with fines of up to several hundred dollars. The alliance of Artistic amanagement, hired scabs, Annings Security, Metro Police and the court system, is leaving many victims of this strike in its trail: workers whose jobs were stolen, defendents hit with heavy fines and little help in paying them. AFTER THIS MEETING, HELP THE FIGHT AGAINST STRIKEBREAKING AND HAVE A GOOD TIME BESIDES.

Come to this benefit dance.

Thunderbird
&
The Abbreviated Sloth Band

Fri March 22, St. Paul's Church, 121 Avenue Road

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copy fm Weisfeld
Box 21
(Final Version)

THE DEBATE ON NATIONALISM BETWEEN GERMAIN AND HOROWITZ:

a contribution to the discussion in the Socialist League.

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by A. Levi March 13, 1974

When discussing nationalism it is necessary to decide whether the conclusions concerning it in a given concrete situation and time are to be held true for other given situations or whether one can only deal with it in only a given concrete situation. Marx and Engels treated the subject in its concrete and centered it around a particular national situation. Certain main countries were given the status of being central to the European revolution and related nationalisms were subordinated to the class struggle of that nation. At the same time nationalism was regarded as a progressive phenomena generally during the rise of capitalism.

The History of Nationalism

Germain describes this role on pg. 32 of his "In Defense of Leninism: In Defense of the Fourth International" col. 2.

> "This ideology played a progressive role essentially in the 16th, 17th, and 18th century, i.e., in the classical period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the pre-industrial era, when the bourgeoisie was historically a revolutionary class. ... With the development of capitalist industry in the 19th century, nationalism gradually loses its progressive character. The triumphant bourgeoisie uses that ideology now less against - rapidely disappearing - pre-capitalist reactionary social forces, and more and more against its foreign capitalist competitors (or worse: other nations whose territory it wants oppressively to include in its own 'home market') and against the working class. 'National solidarity' is called upon to stifle the rise of the proletarian struggle.
>
> "With the epoch of imperialism, nationalism as a rule becomes reactionary, whether it is 'purely' bourgeois or petty-bourgeois in character."

A General Theory of Nationalism

So Germain lays out a law of nationalism, as reactionary in our epoch, and further, that it takes on a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois character. This law he applies in all situations such as the semi-colonial, colonial and Quebecois formations. So he conceives of a general theory of nationalism both in the period of the rise of capitalism and during the imperialist epoch. Horowitz also agrees with his views on nationalism during the rise of capitalism but diverges for the epoch of imperialism; nevertheless he puts forward his own general theory or laws for the imperialist epoch.

The nature of nationalism in the imperialist epoch

Germain sees nationalism as an ideology, that is; "Nationalism is an ideology, the ideology of national solidarity irrespective of regional, ethnic or social differences." (pg. 32 col. 2 IIDB #4) Together with this concept Germain includes the nationalism of an oppressed people fighting imperialism. He refers to the demands of a "democratic secular Palestine" and "for a democratic secular Bangladesh" (the latter more paralles the Quebec situation) saying,

> "They are deliberlately put forward in the struggle by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships in order to seperate the agrarian revolution and the emancipation of the working class from the struggle for national liberation." (pg. 25 IIDB #24)

Clearly Germain seperates the struggle against imperialism (which includes the agrarian question notwithstanding Germain) from the struggle for national liberation which to him means formal political independence. This is the same sense that Lenin referred to national emancipation, through national "self-determination". In fact it was Rosa Luxemburg who pointed out to Lenin that one cannot conceive of national emancipation without economic independence but she didn't resolve the problem. Trotsky came forward with his analysis, never fully grasped by Lenin, of the permanent revolution which posed the struggle for national emancipation as an anti-imperialist struggle in the fullest sense of the word.

> "Really to arouse the workers and peasants against imperialism, is possible only by connecting their basic and most profound life interests with the cause of the country's liberation." (pg. 25, col.i, IIDB #24)

That is nationalism in a certain sense of the word. Trotsky continues;

> "The historical weapon of national liberation can be only the class struggle. The Comintern, beginning in 1924 transformed the programme of national liberation of colonial people into an empty democratic abstraction that is elevated above the reality of class relations. In the struggle against national oppression, different classes liberate themselves (temporarily) from material interests and become simple 'anti-imperialist' forces." (pg. 25, IIDB #24)

Here Trotsky identified national liberation with the struggle against national oppression, unlike Germain, and labled this national consciousness as 'anti-imperialist' as does the '68 document Canada-US Relations. Germain differs by saying;

> "it is not necessary to 'break all ties with imperialism' in order to eliminate foreign national oppression. ... Where foreign national oppression is elimated, foreign economic exploitation remains and increases. ... To say that India, Indonesia or Nigeria, not to speak about Brazil, Argentina, Finland or Turkey, are today countries in which foriegn national oppression by imperialism reigns would be obviously misleading." (pg. 30, IIDB #4)

In reply Horowitz states correctly, "But this overlooks the fact that the two are intertwined. /that is, national oppression and economic exploitation,- A.L./ Economic control by imperialism is the basis for maintaining national oppression, and where the former still exists, national oppression continues. ... He fails to make the distinction between formal political independence and genuine national liberation." (pg. 6, IIDB #10)

Canada-US Relations

In that sense Horowitz is correct when he considers nationalism to encompass anti-imperialist consciousness. He says, "in the era of permanent revolution, the nationalism of the masses of the oppressed nationalities tends to mesh with socialist consciousness not bourgeois ideology, because the real momentum of the struggle for nationalist goals tends to mesh with the socialist revolution not the bourgeois revolution. ...

"It is in that sense that we support the nationalism of oppressed nations." (pg. 26 IIDB #24)

As a consequence of Germain's seperation of nationalism as an ideology and as an anti-imperialist consciousness, he replies; "the nationalism of oppressed nationalities, far from tending to overlap with socialist consciousness, is an obstacle on the path toward attaining this consciousness." (pg. 26 IIDB #24)

This conclusion arises from his conception of an anti-imperialist nationalism as being injected into the worker and peasant classes from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sources and not being derived from the objective situation.

Germain has no conception of a nationalist consciousness corresponding to the actual national oppression suffered by various peoples. Recognizing that the nationalism of the oppressed is not quite the same as the nationalism of the oppressor, he differentiates between a pure bourgeois nationalism and a petty-bourgeois kind. "With the epoch of imperialism, nationalism as a rule becomes reactionary, whether it is 'purely' bourgeois or petty-bourgeois in character." (pg. 32 IIDB #4)

This petty-bourgeois nationalism (which incidentally the RMG is fond of refering to in both Quebec and English Canada) is defined by Germain as, "a narrow,

> parochial substitute and cover for the programme of the permanent revolution, i.e., national and social emancipation." (pg. 33, IIDB #4)

In fact he goes so far as to call the nationalism in oppressed countries as

> "bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist ideologies" (pg. 33, IIDB #4)

and so lends confusion to his conception of nationalism since he refers to patty-bourgeois nationalism both as a characteristic of nationalist ideology and then as an ideology in itself even though he previously represents it as only one character of an ideology. Perhaps that is an attempt to return to his monolithic nationalism after pointing out that there are two aspects to nationalisms or two nationalisms in a sense. In fact Trotsky points this out in a letter to the Indochinese Oppositionists. "The declaration states quite correctly that the

> nationalism of the bourgeoisie is a means for subordinating and deceiving the masses. But the nationalism of the mass of the people is the elementary form taken by their just and progressive hatred for the most skillful, capable, and ruthless of their oppressors, that is, the foreign imperialists." (pg. 28, IIDB #24)

Having recognized the progressive nature of "nationalism" in some countries, Horowitz admits to a revision of terminology to include anti-imperialist consciousness in the use of the term nationalism. This, Germain calls a revision away from Marxism.*

Certainly how that concept has come to be used by Beiner as simply identification with nationalist ideology based on his caricature of the permanent revolution in Quebec is incorrect. That is, having assumed that Quebec could not achieve a cold transformation into a formal political independence through his application of the permanent revolution to Quebec he believes it necessary to simply call for independence. This follows from Horowitz's theory of nationalism which, although it is based on a recognition of a nationalist consciousness as being progressive, seeks not only tio identify with that consciousness but to support nationalism in oppressed nations.

> "There is another aspect to the LSA-LSO error on the national question. ... This is the identification of the right of national self-determination, and the mass struggles evolving around that right, i.e. concrete demands and slogans which express it, with 'nationalism'." (pg. 32, IIDB #4)

Horowitz lays this out for us quite clearly when he states, "Until now, the

> Fourth International had generally agreed on the importance in the epoch of imperialism of drawing the distinction between the nationalism of imperialist oppressor nations and the nationalism of oppressed nationalities. We have recognized that whereas the former is reactionary to the core, the latter plays a progressive role in advancing the struggle against oppression. For that reason, our movement has opposed the nationalism of oppressor nations but has supported the nationalism of the oppressed nations insofar as it was directed against their oppressors. ... For this reason, the LSA/LSO supports Quebecois nationalism" (pg.10,11,IIDB #10)

This perspective leads him to differ with Germain on Quebec. "why does he feel

> compelled to emphasize that given a powerful upsurge of the workers' struggle, 'there is no fundamental class interest which would prevent imperialism from transforming any such nationality into independent puppet states.' (page 35) That is theoretically true, but unlikely. It is certainly not the perspective that we should emphasize regarding the

* see the discussion on this same revision in the LSA/LSO contained in Gary Porter's Memorandum on the use of the Term Canadian Nationalism in the 1972/73 documentation DB #51

national question in these countries." (pg. 7, I DB #10) This becoming a justification for the LSO slogan for an "Independent and French Quebec".

The other side of the coin is the law that the nationalism of the oppressor countries (being imperialist) is reactionary. This is a consequence of considering the nationalism of the oppressed per se as being progressive. As Horowitz says,

> "The comrades of the LSA/LSO understood very well this reactionary role of nationalist ideology in imperialist oppressor nations when they overwhelmingly rejected the proposal raised in their organization to support Canadian nationalism." (pg.11, IIDB #10)

Although Horowitz has inovated correctly to consider a progressive nationalist consciousness, he has mistakenly identified this with the ideology and then failed to carry his evaluation into the general sphere and reserves it for only semi-colonial and colonial countries as if there were two theories of nationalism, one for imperialist countries and one for the imperialized. What he fails to take into account is that there are no formal catagories;

-what about the anti-Kurd chauvinism in the Middle-East,
-the oppression of Latin American Indians,
-oppressed nationalities in the workers' states,
-and imperialized imperialism.

An Inovation or Revision

During the second congress of the Comintern in 1920, Lenin implicitly accepted the theory of the permanent revolution when he called for a change of terms from describing the process of permanent revolution in a colonial situation as "bourgeois-democratic" to "national revolutionary". The idea behind the inovation being that the former term although essentially correct didn't contain the perspective of an anti-capitalist thrust to the revolutionary process and so would tend to confuse and prevent the revolutionaries from fully identifying wwith that process.

The LSA delt with the question of more accurately describing the anti-imperialist phenomena in Canada and made a change in its terminology as well during the period of initially coming to grips with it. As was stated in Gary Porter's "Memorandum on the Use of the Term Canadian Nationalism", of July 11/72; "What is involved here

> is a change in name to more accurately describe this sentiment as it is and as it defined itself in life." (pg. 17, DB 72/73 #51)

From describing it as an anti-imperialist sentiment the LSA came to refer to it as nationalism. "The term Canadian nationalism has the advantage of describing the

> sentiment as it is - a developing consciousness, which expresses itself in nationalist terms, against Canada's subservient junior partner relationship to the United States." (pg. 17 ibid)

This then parallels the change in terminology that Horowitz utilizes, that is, he uses the term nationalism to mean the developing anti-imperialist consciousness in the colonial and semi-colonial world.

> "In recent years, the Trotskyist movement has introduced a change in th terminology, using the word 'nationalism' not so much to describe its specific origins in connection with bourgeois ideology, but in a more limited sense to describe the simple concept of identification with the nation. ... In the case of oppressed nations ... when the masses hold the idea that they have common interests as a nation, this does not necessarily correspond with the false consciousness that is bourgeois ideology, but can correspond to a true though limit d consciousness of reality." (pg. 12, IIDB #10)

As we have seen though, through a faulty conception of the permanent revolution - in not considering a cold political independence as a probability in many cases, he calls for support to this nationalism and so its demands rather than identification which facilitates an unconditional but critical orientation to the struggle.

> "This identification /of national struggle and nationalism - A.L./ led Comrade Beiner to the preposterous statement that the 'positions of Lenin and Trotsky' imply 'unconditional support for Quebecois nationalism' (or for nationalism of any oppressed nation). This is absolutely untrue." (pg. 32, IIDB #4) Germain

And yet we must use our language to most carefully describe our concepts. "In our epoch, the revolutionary socialists, the Marxists, above all must be sensitive to the new aspects of national consciousness which are developing throughout the world, and of which Canadian nationalism is an example." (pg. 18, LSA/LSO DB 72/73 #51)

Along these lines a correct inovation would be to call for an identification with the nationalist consciousness in Canada, previously referred to by members of the United Tendency as a nationalist sentiment. How do we define this concept? Trotsky referred to the "nationalism of the masses of the people" as the "elementary form

> taken by their just and progressive hatred for the ... foreign imperialists." And furthermore, "The proletariat does not have the right to turn its back on this kind of nationalism. On the contrary, it must demonstrate in practice that it is the most consistent and devoted fighter for the national liberation of Indochina." (pg. 28, IIDB #24)

From this passage this nationalist consciousness can be considered to be an elementary form of anti-imperialism leading towards national liberation. This consciousness is the identification of one's interests in striving to overcome the material and cultural contradictions, oppression and Americanization of oneself as a worker with that of the great mass of the nation which is predominately proletarian. It has many similarities with feminist consciousnesswhich seeks to identify one's interests in striving to overcome material and cultural oppression through, sex-stereotyping andsocialization of oneself with that of other women who are predominately proletarian.

A Question of Method

Horowitz seems to think that to analyze a phenomena as having a progressive dynamic allows Marxists to give it their unconditional, tending toward uncritical, support. Speaking generally Horowitz states that, "the nationalism of oppressed

> nationalities ... plays a progressive role ... For that reason, our movement ... has supported the nationalism of the oppressed nations." (pg. 10, IIDB #10)

He contradicts himself when dealing with a different historical period though; "The

> Marxist movement, while recognizing the progressive historical role of the rising bourgeoisie, never supported this bourgeois ideology. That is why so many quotations can be found from the great Marxists attacking nationalism (and also bourgeois democracy)." (pg. 11, IIDB #10)

Horowitz, in quoting one of Lenin's most favourable references to nationalism, revels that Lenin also differentiated between nationalism and its content.

> " 'the bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression, and it,is this content that we unconditionally support.' " (pg. 11, IIDB #10)

And here Lenin was refering to the epoch of imperialism not to the period of the rise of bourgeois nationalism.

CANADIAN COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

STATEMENT OF AIMS

1. TO AID in defending victims of political persecution in Latin America, regardless of their particular beliefs, affiliations, or associations, and to provide whatever assistance is possible for their families.

2. TO ORGANIZE such actions as may be possible within Canada to put pressure on reactionary Latin American governments to stop restrictions on the rights of free speech and free association, to respect the rule of law in all political cases, to ameliorate the harsh conditions under which political prisoners are held, and to work for their amnesty and release.

3. TO INFORM and arouse public opinion in Canada on the repressive policies pursued by military, authoritarian, and even constitutional regimes in Latin America which trample on elementary civil and political liberties, and to call attention to any complicity of the Canadian government and its open and secret agencies in aiding and abetting such violations of democratic rights.

4. TO COOPERATE with organizations in Latin America, Canada, and other countries which have similar purposes.

MEETING

To plan activities for the Toronto chapter in the coming months -- in particular, to discuss how to continue and extend the campaign against the repression in Chile, and the campaign to open Canada's doors to refugees and exiles.

PLACE: International Student Center, 33 St. George St.

DATE: Sunday, April 7 TIME: 2:00 pm

For information, phone
Ian Angus 366-7009

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(Found in 1974)

the argentine workers must not be crushed!

The international capitalist medai has devoted considerable attention to the February 27 police "revolt" in Argentina's Cordoba State. The police coup, officially sanctioned by President Juan Peron, has resulted in the formation of a new, extremely reactionary state government and the purge of hundreds of allegedly "Marxist" left Peronists from the local adminstration. In effect, Cordoba has been placed under military rule.

The location of what history may record as the first shots of the Argentine counter-revolution is no accident. Cordoba, Argentina's second largest city and a centre of heavy industry, has long been a bastion of the most combatative sectors of the Argentine working class. It was the semi-insurrectional mass revolt of the Cordoba workers and students in 1969, the famous "Cordobazo", which opened the pre-revolutionary political crisis which has gripped Argentina ever since.

The Cordoba putsch is the clearest indication to date of the transformation of the Peronist regime, which came to power with tremendous mass support last year, into an instrument of repression which seeks to crush the mass movement. The question of a general armed confrontation between the Argentine masses and the allied forces of the national bourgeoisie and imperialism is now placed directly on the agenda.

ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS

In the 1940's, the international economic and political situation permitted a major economic boom in Argentina. Peronism first emerged in this context, as a specific form of bourgeois nationalism which could both bolster the position of the national bourgeoisie while winning mass support from the working class. It was in this period that the working class won important victories, including the establishment of one of the most powerful trade union movements in the world.

But the economic base for this equilibrium disappeared by the mid-50's, with the rejuvenation of the European economies and the decline of agricultural prices on the world market. Argentina's socio-economic situation began to rapidly deteriorate, opening up a crisis which has persisted to this day.

Peron fell in 1955 and was followed by a series of bourgeois governments in the context of a protracted assault on the working class. The military finally assumed direct control with Ongania's coup in 1966.

May 1969 marked a radical turning point. In Rosario, Cordoba and Tucuman, the masses mobilized in the most gigantic movements Argentina had ever experienced. The Cordobazo was a major test of strength between workers and students and the military dictatorship. It was the outbreak of a new stage of impetuous upsurge that created a prerevolutionary situation by shattering the balances established in 1966. This rise took the form notably of repeated explosive mobilizations both in the traditional epicenters of the workers movement and in the less radicalized cities, of hard-fought battles in vanguard workers sectors as well as general strikes that involved greater numbers than even before in Argentina and in Latin America (November 1970 and September 1971). In this context the class struggle began to give rise to armed struggle, and urban guerrilla warfare spread to all of the country's important centres. General Lanusse pointed to the importance of this struggle when he said: "We are confronting enemies different from the traditional type since they are now coming from the population of the country itself. This is why all services should join in a common struggle...I believe we are at war."' (The Political Crisis and Perspectives for Revolutionary Struggle in Argentina, Resolution, Xth World Congress,Fourth International). The various bourgeois attempts to contain and repress the mass movement failed. As a desparate last resort to avoid an open civil war, Juan Peron, now in his late 70's was hauled out of mothballs and reinstated in office.

Mass loyalty to Peron, indeed his virtual deification by the working class, did not disappear during his 18 year exile. The main peculiarity of the Argentine labour movement historically is the contradiction between the tremendous strength, organizational solidity and mobilizing capacity of the Argentine working class and the fact that it has remained under the hegemony of Peronism, a current which represents the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. The majority of the workers voted for the Justicialista Party (Peronist) in the 1973 elections and perceived Peron's return as a tremendous victory for themselves.

But the objective basis for the class equilibrium personified by Peron, which prevailed in the 1940's, no longer exists. The present intentions of the Peronist leadership were made very clear by the murder of 30 persons and the wounding of hundreds of others when goons hired by Osinde, the Justicialist Minister of the Interior, opened fire on a mass demonstration held to celebrate Peron's return. Peron's first formal act after assuming office was to order the suppression of the ERP (Revolutionary Peoples' Army) which had led the armed struggle against the previous military regime. The troops and police used to maintain order on the assembly lines have been withdrawn from the factories -- and replaced by armed goons of the right-wing Peronist union bureaucracy. Hundreds of vanguard worker militants have been kidnapped or murdered in broad daylight. "Left" Peronists have been systematically purged out of the government, the Civil service and the trade union apparatus and replaced by elements whose views border on fascism. The Cordoba coup is only the most extreme manifestation of this process. It is leading very rapidly towards the establishment of a reactionary dictatorship whose objective function is essentially the same as those whibh prevail throughout most of the rest of the continent.

THE DIALECTICS OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA

The political evolution of Argentina over the last five year is a striking confirmation of the two central theses of the Fourth International concerning the revolution in Latin America.

First, the role of the Peronist government confirms the complete bankruptcy of any notion of "national", "anti-imperialist" "stage" of the revolution, in which the masses must ally with the "progressive national bourgeoisie". In reality, the liberation of Argentina from the imperialist yoke and the struggle of the Argentine workers against capitalist exploitation will be completely intertweined throughout the revolutionary process. Previous attempts to ally with "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie or its army have led directly to military coups and major repression in Guatemala (1955), Brazil (1964), Bolivia (1971), Uruguay (1973) and the recent tragedy in Chile.

Second, the profound social and economic deformation and instability of semi-colonial Latin America excludes any protracted period of bourgeois democracy, of the peaceful and legal expansion and strengthening of the mass movement. On the contrary, any serious mobilization of the workers and poor peasants will lead, directly and in the short term towards an armed confrontation with the repressive forces of local capitalism, backed by the whole of world imperialism (including the Canadian bourgeoisie, with its extensive holdings in Latin America). It is because of these social and political factors that the arming of the masses is posed as an immediate task. Furthermore, this implies that revolutionaries cannot limit their efforts on this question to abstract or purely literary propaganda, but must rather take practical initiatives in action to ensure that the masses do not face the repressive forces of the class enemy unorganized, unarmed and defenseless.

FOR A WORKERS' VICTORY IN ARGENTINA

The strategy of the Fourth International in Argentina is determined by its analysis of both the general dynamics of the Latin American class struggle and the specific conjunctural situation in Argentina. The main aspects of this strategy are:

-- the struggle for the political and organziational autonomy of the working class. The working class must withdraw its support for the Peronist government and all other representatives of Argentine and world capitalism. It must achieve the complete independence of its trade unions from the bourgeois state. In opposition to reactionary Peronism, revolutionary Marxists advance the concept of a Revolutionary Workers and Popular Government, based on the self organization of the masses and excluding all representatives of the bourgeoisie and the military.

-- the reestablishment of the lost gains of the lost gains of the working class and the conquest of new ones. The struggle against inflation, capitalist economic and industrial rationalization and reduced living standards has a directly political significance because it involves the defiance of the "social pact" recently signed by the Government and the Peronist trade union bureaucrats. The necessary demands include workers' veto power over various aspects of production, including speed-up, lay-offs and dismissal of militants, a sliding scale of wages under workers control to fight inflation and the opening of capitalist accounts to workers and housewives committees.

-- The democratic self-organization of the workers. An effective struggle against the Government, the bosses and the bureaucrats requires the formation of democratic assemblies in the factories and the communities. Such vehicles are an embryonic form of workers' power and can be transformed into the structures of a future proletarian state power. The struggle for workers'democracy in the trade unions is also necessary and has important political consequences in Argentina where the integration of the union bureaucracy into the bourgeois government is a key form of exercising class domination.

-- the preparation of the masses for civil war. In the first instance, this means organizing for armed self-defence against the union bureaucracy goons, the cops, the army and the fascist gangs. It means the arming of strike pickets, the formation of workers' militias, and the formation of workers' commandos which have an offensive as well as a defensive character. The first responsibility for the practical initiation and organization of self-defense lies upon revolutionaries, who must also tirelessly explain that it is only one step towards the struggle for the seizure of power. One way of concretizing this perspective is through reprisals by vanguard militants against the most hated hangmen of the regime and other forms of armed propaganda.

Needless to say, the Fourth International rejects any notion that the armed action of a few hundred revolutionary militants is sufficient to overthrow the capitalist state. We reject with equal vigour, any reformist illusions about the "peaceful and democratic road" to socialism, or the spontaneist illusion that somehow, on the brink of counterrevolution the masses will magically and spontaneously find effective means to defend themselves, without prior organized preparation of both a political and practical character. The recent bloody defeat of the Chilean workers speaks eloquently on this score. The principal goal of all minority military initiatives must be to "arm the masses with the desire to be armed".

-- the construction of a revolutionary workers' party, the indispensable instrument for victory. The political and military and organizational tasks which are posed by the present phase of the Argentine revolution can only be accomplished by a revolutionary party based on the program of Marxism and rooted in the struggles and mass organizations of the working class, a party with the prestige and influence among the masses necessary at the decisive moments of the class struggle. The combativity of the broad worker and student vanguard, which numbers thousands and thousands of militants, is insufficient unless it is structured into a cohesive and politcally coherent revolutionary organization. There was no lack of heroic militants in Chile ready to fight and die for their class and for socialism. What was lacking was a correct revolutionary leadership as an alternative to the vacillation and betrayals of the reformists of the Communist and Socialist Parties, whose 'peaceful road' led the workers into a bloody trap.

This general strategic perspective of the Fourth International is presently being implemented by our comrades of the Fraccion Roja (Argentine sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), who seek to convince the advanced workers of this program and to build a revolutionary party through their propaganda, their agitiation and their armed actions. Peron's recent public denunciation of the Fourth International indicates that he and his class understand the threat that such initiatives pose to Argentine capitalism.

THE TASKS OF THE CANADIAN LEFT

Canadian radicals failed to build an effective and united campaign in response to the Chilean coup. A major portion of the responsibility for this lies with the Communist Party and the Waffle, as the two largest organizations on the Canadian left. The CP actively sabotaged attempts to build such a campaign and theWaffle refused to participate in any actions at all. But the left as a whole must critically examine its failure to take the measures which the Chilean events required. (We include ourselves in this respect). The experience must not be repeated.

One of the reasons for the non-response of the left to Chile is a vulgar notion, prevalent in radical circles, that "Canadian workers aren't interested in such issues" that solidarity campaigns around international questions are "moralistic", etc.

It is necessary for socialist to assimilate a basic fact which the imperialists have always understood and which determines their strategy: the class struggle is fought in a global arena. We don't just struggle to defend the revolution in other countries to demonstrate our good intentions or moral purity, but because the triumph of revolution or counterrevolution in one part of the world has repercussions for the imperialist system as a whole.

With the exception of Vietnam, probably no country in the world at the present time has more strategic importance than Argentina. It is now the only major Latin American country where a reactionary dictatorship has not been installed. A defeat for the Argentine workers would represent a tremendous victory for imperialism in its efforts to contain the Latin American revolution. But a revolutionary breakthrough in Argentina would have precisely the opposite effects. It would sound the death-knell for the military regimes throughout the continent, especially those in Chile and Brazil (imperialism's local pinch hitter). A proletarian victory in a highly industrialized country like Argentina would also have an exemplary character for workers in the imperialist countries as the latter themselves move into deepending social crisis.

A militant international campaign can have a real, if modest, effect on the relationship of forces in specific countries. The world-wide Vietnam solidarity movement certainly narrowed imperialisms' margin of maneouvre and contributed to Nixon's evacuation of ground forces. The build of the much-needed material aid to the Chilean resistance is coming, not from the Moscow and Peking Bureaucracies, but from the Chile solidarity committees around the world.

For all of these reasons, it is necessary to prepare now for a united militant campaign as the crisis of bourgeois rule in Argentina reaches new heights.

The political basis for such a campaign should be a clear platform of solidarity with the Argentine workers. All socialist, working class and student organizations who accept such a platform must be allowed to freely participate, regardless of their particular point of view. The political independence of the participants and their right to freely criticize one another, both inside and outside the framework of such a united front must be guaranteed.

PREPARE NOW FOR THE COMING CONFRONTATION IN ARGENTINA!

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Latin American Political Prisoners REPORT

WINTER 1974

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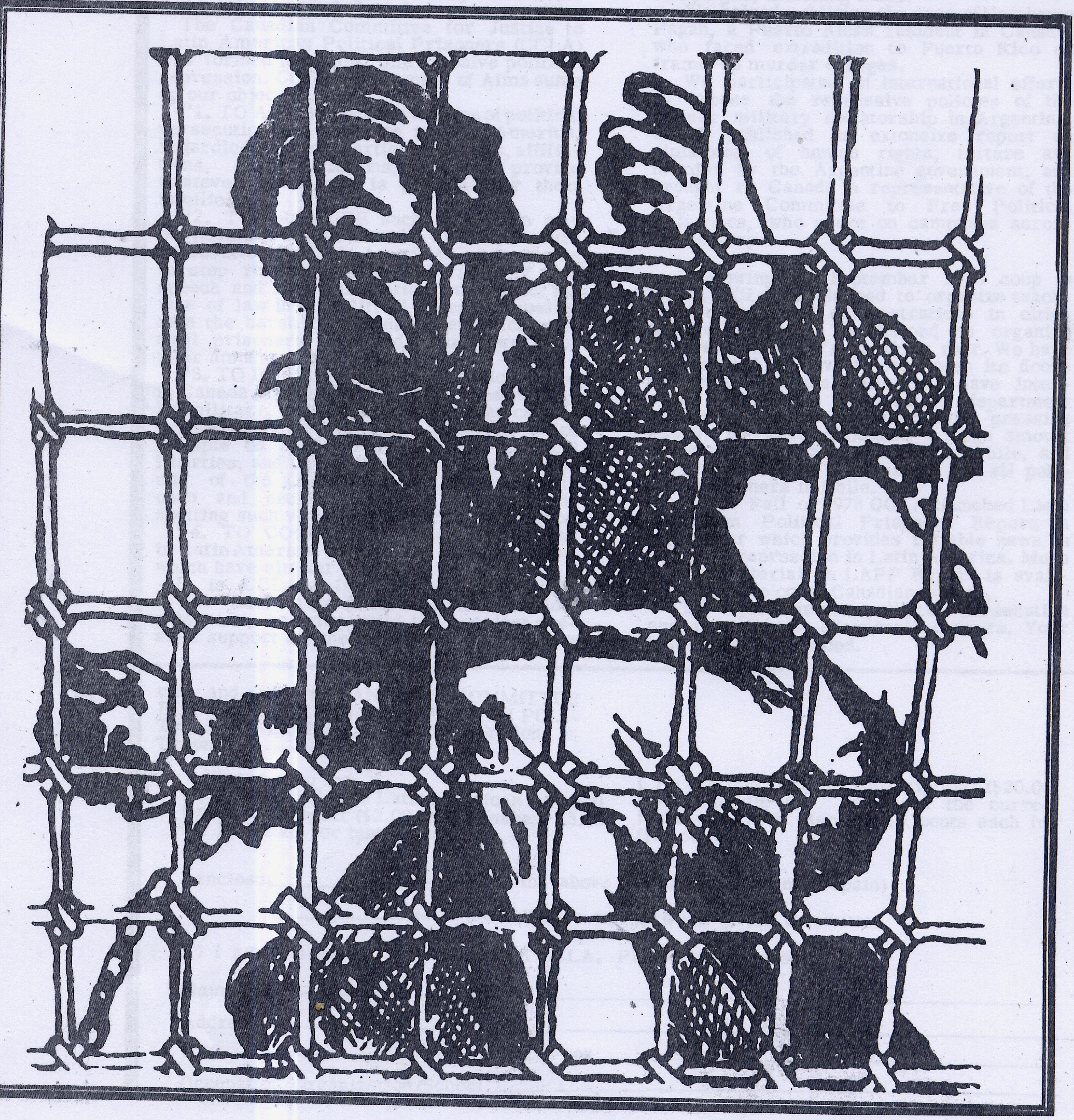

CANADIAN COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE
TO LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Introducing CCLA

There are tens of thousands of political prisoners in Latin America. Thousands more people have been exiled from their homelands for their political views. Still more are in hiding, facing imprisonment, torture and death if captured by their governments.

The Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (CCLA) was formed to combat this massive political repression. CCLA's Statement of Aims sums up our objectives:

"1. TO AID in defending victims of political persecution and injustice in Latin America, regardless of their particular beliefs, affiliations, or associations, and to provide whatever assistance is possible for their families.

"2. TO ORGANIZE such actions as may be possible within Canada to put pressure on reactionary Latin American governments to stop restrictions on the rights of free speech and free association, to respect the rule of law in all political cases, to ameliorate the harsh conditions under which political prisoners are held, and to work for their amnesty and release.

"3. TO INFORM and arouse public opinion in Canada on the repressive policies pursued by military, authoritarian, and even constitutional regimes in Latin America which trample on elementary civil and political liberties, and to call attention to any complicity of the Canadian government and its open and secret agencies in aiding and abetting such violations of democratic rights.

"4. TO COOPERATE with organizations in Latin America, Canada, and other countries which have similar purposes."

It is CCLA's firm belief that to help to win victories for Latin American political prisoners, we must build the broadest possible support for these individuals. We enlist the aid of any and all people in Canada who agree with our statement of aims.

Since its formation in the Spring of 1972, CCLA has been engaged in a number of campaigns, including these:

We helped publicize the case of Humberto Pagan, a Puerto Rican resident in Canada, who faced extradition to Puerto Rico on frame-up murder charges.

We participated in international efforts to expose the repressive policies of the former military dictatorship in Argentina. CCLA published an extensive report on violations of human rights, torture and murder by the Argentine government, and brought to Canada a representative of the Argentine Committee to Free Political Prisoners, who spoke on campuses across the country.

Following the September 1973 coup in Chile, CCLA has helped to organize teach-ins, rallies and demonstrations in cities across Canada. We helped to organize Hortensia Allende's speaking tour. We have campaigned to have Canada open its doors to refugees from Chile, and have intervened with the immigration department around a number of particularly pressing cases. We have circulated a large amount of material on the situation in Chile, and have campaigned for freedom for all political prisoners in Chile.

In the Fall of 1973 CCLA launched Latin American Political Prisoners Report, a newspaper which provides reliable news on political repression in Latin America. Much of the material in LAPP Report is available from no other Canadian source.

The fight against political persecution and injustice is everyone's concern. Your help is greatly needed.

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clip and mail to: CANADIAN COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS, Box 38, Station B, Toronto.

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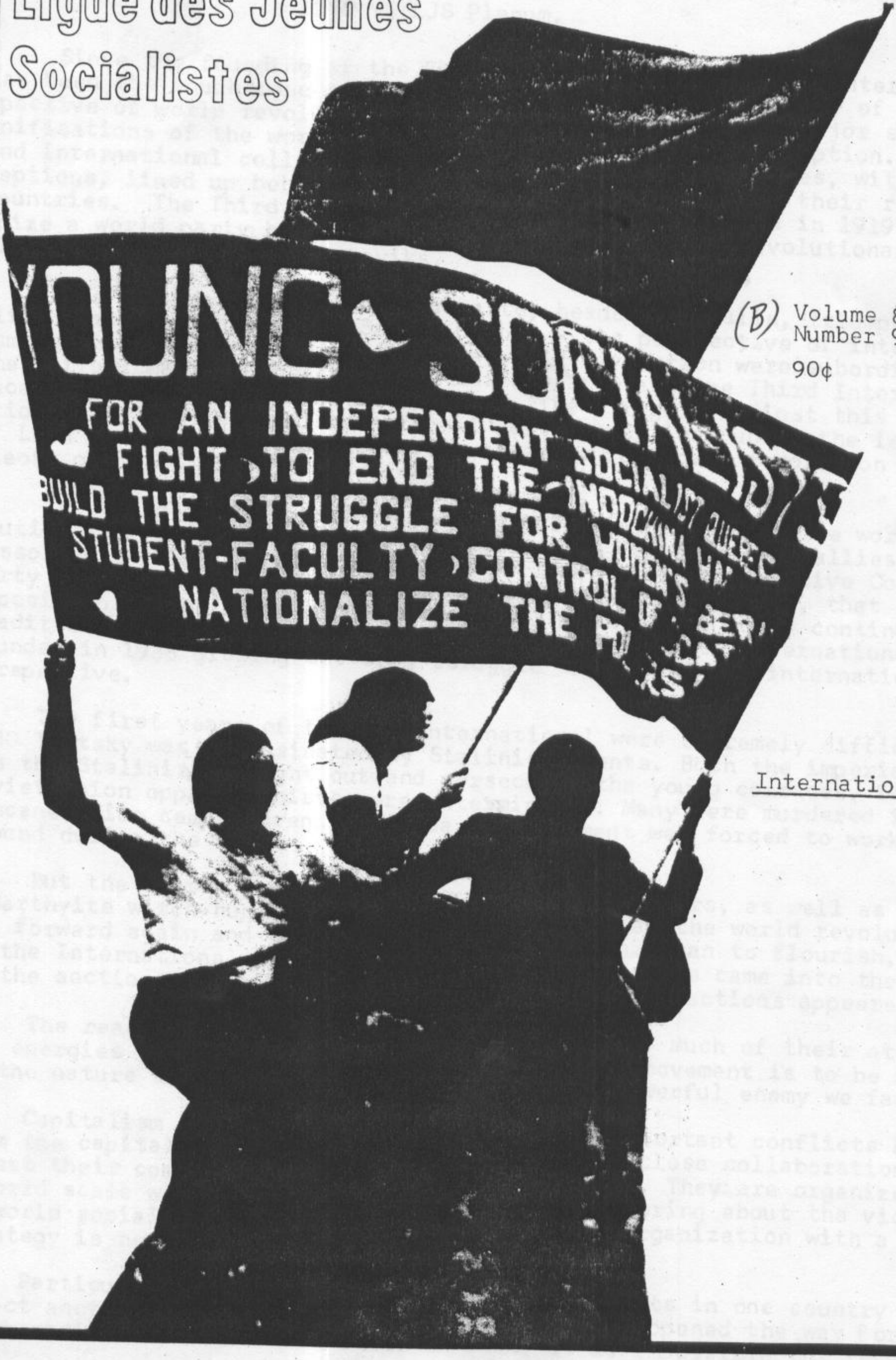
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(B) Volume 8
Number 9 (41pp)

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International Report

International Report, presented by Al Cappe and adopted by the September 1972 YS/LJS Plenum.

Since the founding of the First International in 1864, internationalism has been the touchstone of the Marxist movement. The primacy of a perspective of world revolution, has been the question behind major splits and unifications of the world socialist movement since its inception. The Second International collapsed in 1914 as its component parties, with few exceptions, lined up behind the imperialist war machines of their respective countries. The Third Communist International was founded in 1919 to organize a world party based on the internationalist and revolutionary principles of the Russian Bolsheviks.

As a privileged bureaucratic caste, headed by Stalin, triumphed in the first workers state -- the Soviet Union -- the perspective of internationalism was abandoned. The needs of the world revolution were subordinated to the narrow, national needs of the bureaucracy; and the Third International became nothing but a tool to this end. The struggle against this degeneration was waged by the International Left Opposition, under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, who counterposed a strategy for world revolution to Stalin's theory of "Socialism in One Country".

The Third International abandoned its role of leading the world revolution and finally, under the pressure of Stalin's wartime allies, was dissolved in 1943. It was ten years earlier, after the massive Communist Party in Germany had capitulated to fascism without a fight, that the Left Opposition called for a new international -- one that could continue the traditions of the First, Second and Third. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 growing out of a struggle to maintain an internationalist perspective.

The first years of the new international were extremely difficult. In 1940 Trotsky was assassinated by Stalinist agents. Both the imperialists and the Stalinists sought out and persecuted the young comrades. In the Soviet Union oppositionists were exterminated. Many were murdered in Nazi concentration camps. Even in Canada the movement was forced to work underground during the war.

But the Fourth International survived these years, as well as the McCarthyite witch-hunt of the early '50's. And as the world revolution surged forward again and the current radicalization began to flourish, sections of the International were rebuilt: new revolutionists came into the ranks of the sections which had remained intact, and new sections appeared.

The reason why revolutionists have devoted so much of their attention and energies to the building of an international movement is to be found in the nature of the capitalist system and the powerful enemy we face.

Capitalism is a world system, and despite important conflicts between them the capitalists of all countries maintain a close collaboration to defeat their common enemy -- the world revolution. They are organized on a world scale with an international strategy. To bring about the victory of world socialist revolution, an international organization with a counter strategy is necessary.

Particularly in this age of imperialism, events in one country deeply affect another. The victorious revolution in Cuba opened the way for the youth radicalization of the 60's. In fact, it is impossible for revolutionists to understand the events of their own country unless they have an international view, studying the struggle for markets, the interimperialist rivalries that affect national economies etc. For example, our understanding of the central role of Vietnam in the world revolution made us best able to respond to the radicalization in Canada.

Secondly, a world movement is necessary to overcome the divisions of the oppressed into national boundaries and nation states. The ruling class uses national chauvinism and exploits language, cultural and social differences to cut across any international solidarity.

Internationalism and the construction of an international movement are necessary if the experiences in various parts of the world are to be absorbed, and the lessons of struggles are to be passed on to revolutionists around the world. Moreover a world strategy is needed from which national sections can work out the application to their country.

For the revolutionists of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes internationalism has never been an abstract solidarity or identification with the struggles in other parts of the world. It is fundamental to our general political perspectives and it is a real and concrete component of both our program and activities. For example, the document on the worldwide youth radicalization presented to the Fourth International is the basis of the intervention of the YS/LJS.

The YS/LJS was born in the defence of the Cuban revolution and the Black struggle through our understanding of their impact on the youth of Canada and Quebec. We, like Trotskyists around the world are the most consistent and active defenders of the Vietnamese revolution and we are the leadership of the organized antiwar movement in this country. We carried the international defence for Hugo Blanco, and for other political prisoners in Latin America, most recently those in Argentina. We can point proudly to the work done by our Ottawa comrades for Humberto Pagan. Just last year we carried campus tours on the Irish revolution and the struggle in Bengla Desh.

We have declared our solidarity with the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Canadian section of the Fourth International, committing ourselves to building and defending it, and we have united with it in a common movement whose task is the building of the revolutionary party in Canada. As a revolutionary socialist youth organization we see our task as the winning of the best of our generation to the program of Trotskyism, to train them as cadres for the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Fourth International. As a sympathizing youth organization this is our concrete contribution to the building of the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution.

Vietnam

At the center of the world revolution is the struggle in Vietnam. The Canadian Trotskyists, like their comrades around the world, have been the most consistent defenders of the heroic fighters of the Vietnamese who stand in the front lines of battle against imperialism.

Never before have our efforts in aid of Vietnam been so necessary. The corrupt bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking have raced each other to shake hands with Nixon and it is without doubt that their secret deals have struck a blow at the Vietnamese revolution. There will be a cutback on the even meager aid which the Vietnamese now receive from them and we can expect increasing pressures on the Vietnamese to sacrifice their interests in a settlement. Far from creating any peaceful co-existence with imperialism, the diplomatic maneuvering and the lack of response to the mining of the harbours, has only served to embolden imperialism and as well to demobilize the antiwar movement, creating the conditions for the US's present monstrous air offensive across all Vietnam.

We have to continue our efforts to build the antiwar movement in Canada and to defend the Vietnamese. We have to expose the complicity of the Canadian government in US aggression.

As revolutionary internationalists, we have a responsibility not only to build a concrete defence of the Vietnamese, but in doing so to educate Canadian and Quebecois students as to why they must defend the struggles of the oppressed around the world and raise them beyond local and national concerns to point out the world system of capitalism and imperialism.

The work we have done to build the Canadian antiwar movement and to expose the real character of the Canadian state is one of our great achievements.

Defending the Vietnamese revolution remains our prime task this fall. Other reports to this plenum will elaborate further on our concrete plans for this work.

The Fourth International

The Fourth International has experienced a very inspiring growth. The French section, the Ligue Communiste numbers about 2500 members, the International Marxist Group of Britain about 300, the Argentine Revolutionary Workers Party (La Verdad) a sympathyzing group which recently fused with the Argentine Socialist Party, close to 1000, and the Canadian section, the LSA/LSO, about 300 members. The Socialist Workers Party, the US Trotskyist organization which is prohibited by reactionary legislation from affiliation to the Fourth International, has undergone an inspiring growth and development of its program to meet new challenges in the radicaliation. There are nuclei of new Trotskyist groups in Israel, Iran, Brazil, Martinique, Uruguay, Senegal. There is a nucleus of several hundred in Franco's fascist Spain. Since the last World Congress of the Fourth International twelve new groups have come forward to apply for membership in the International. In general there is a growing eclipse of the other currents in the workers movement -- pro-Moscow Stalinism among youth and vanguard layers, Maoism which has been exposed in the recent events around Ceylon, Bengla Desh and Vietnam; Nasserism; and there is a decline of Guevarism whose strategy has born no fruits in a decade of its application.

But an international movement cannot be built overnight by the simple task of winning more members and sections. It is a long and arduous political task made difficult by the diversity of situations and numerous forms of struggle confronting revolutionists around the globe.

There are many practical problems. Comrades should think of the distances that are involved in organizing congresses and meetings, the problems posed by immigration authorities. Even some of our Canadian comrades were unable to cross the border and go to Oberlin. As the International grows so does the variety of languages its members speak and with that the massive job of translations. Many comrades are suffering under repression, either they are in jail and unable to participate directly in our political life or police harassment is such that their contact with Trotskyist publications is very irregular.

At the last World Congress, the Latin American comrades had not seen the documents in their own language, been able to discuss them or make contributions, while the biggest debate centered around Latin America. It is most important to note that t e majority of the members of the Fourth International were recruited since the world congress and a great many of them have never seen its documents or know little of the debates. Most of them are young people like ourselves who are relatively new to politics and just beginning their political education.

So the building of the world party is not an easy task and the Fourth International is just at the beginning stages of achieving the necessary political clarity and agreement, of constructing the necessary leadership and strong national sections.

There has been much discussion and not a little confusion on the character of the Fourth International and what its statutes represent. Many comrades tend to lift abstractly the norms of a national section to the International not taking into account the differences involved and above all the present stage of development of the Fourth International.

The Fourth International is a democratic centralist organization -- that is striving to achieve the fullest democratic discussion and the utmost in political clarity as the basis for unity in action. Democratic centralism is a fluid concept, subordinate above all to political debate and clarification, and it changes with the concrete situation. Comrades have seen this in our own organization which is involved in an intense debate over marked differences and where we have placed the emphasis on the development of the debate and discussion.

For the Fourth International at this time the emphasis must be on developing fully the political debate and discussion. A democratic centralist world party with a united leadership and strong integrated sections cannot be simply declared or decreed by fiat. It can only be built through the process of political clarity and debate, through discussion which has gone through the ranks of the entire International and not just its leadership. One cannot establish a line correctly when comrades do not even see or discuss the documents before the congress or are unable to participate in the discussion as was the case for many at the last World Congress. Not only are the positions of this coming World Congress yet to be documented translated and distributed to the world movement -- they are still in the process of being formulated. There are only a handful of contributions from the Latin American comrades on the Latin American debate. That debate has essentially focussed around the positions of the European and North American leaders. The discussion only opened at the 1969 Congress on the youth radicalization. The task before the International is to develop fully the lines of the debate and to clarify the differences.

There are many groups in the Fourth International for whom the debates are something very new. There are widely divergent opinions on even the most basic questions like the transitional program, the character of Maoism, the strategy of party building. There is the Argentine section of the Fourth International, the PRT-Combatiente for which Trotskyism is only one of the legitimate continuations of Leninism; Maoism being hailed as another and Castroism as the correct synthesis of the two for Latin America. This is referred to on Page 8 of their document "The Only Road to Workers' Power and Socialism." There is the British section, the International Marxist Group, which elucidated at its last congress a series of positions which to us represented a revision of the method of the transitional program. The IMG majority wrote in its "Perspectives Document" for that congress that the method and perspectives of the SWP were reformist. I need not develop how far-reaching these differences are nor the pressing necessity that the Fourth International discuss and clarify them.

But these examples serve to point out the dangers of putting forward a very rigid plan for centralism in the International. To demand of the various groups of the Fourth International that they champion at this time a particular line or strategy would not serve to build the Fourth International but rather to blow it apart. Unity in action is not based on monolithic agreement but it is based on agreements on fundamentals and on the full understanding by the emtire International of the debates involved.

The development of a world party must also be based on the development of a strong international leadership, with an ongoing collaboration. We tend to think of the International leadership as just those well-known comrades. This is false. The leadership of the Fourth International is all the leaderships of all the sections, those comrades who have been tried and tested in the life of their sections and have the confidence of the section. Those of us in this room who see ourselves developing as leaders of the LSA/LSO are future leaders of the Fourth International. The leadership of the Fourth International is far from the homogeneous consolidated body necessary.

This underscores the final point. A strong International can only be based on the development of strong and dynamic national sections with tested leaderships. The basic building block of the international is the national section, where the cadres of the International are tested and trained. The construction of the world party will be a function of the development of the parties around the world and their political integration into a world movement.

As we can see it, the main task before the Fourth International and in particular its leadership bodies is: to provide political leadership, to strive for clarity in the debate, and to maintain the broad principles of Trotskyism. It must seek to involve all the ranks of the International in the discussion.

The Revolutionary Communist Tendency, in our movement, poses in its document "Theses on the Character and Statutes on the Fourth International' that the International is "not yet ready to change national leaderships or impose lines of intervention." It has been the experience of the revolutionary movement that this should never be done. The replacing of national leaderships and tactical proscriptions from afar are disastrous reducing national parties to mere lifeless puppets. This was the experience of the Third International under Stalin. Comrades could imagine what would happen if the Central Office overruled the elections of locals and told comrades how they should intervene tactically in every struggle that came alone. There would be no development in the movement. Such measures, very rare and hazardous in national sections, are all the more excluded in an international movement where the common experience in struggle and the centralization of leadership cadre is so strictly limited.

Sallustro Kidnapping

The incident around the kidnapping of Sallustro points out clearly some of the main concepts about the character of the Fourth International. We fully developed this in the CEC statement on the Labor Challenge boycott by the United Minority Tendency (appended). We are not called upon, as a rule, to take a stand on the actions of the LSA, but as we were challenged to do so, we took a position.

It is important to remember two main things. First, that the incident involved a grave political error of a principled character. It was not just any action. And, secondly, the incident was widely publicized - in fact, publicized worldwide as a Trotskyist action. It is in light of these two things, and only these things, that the LSA published a statement differentiating itself from the actions of the comrades of the PRT (Combatiente).

The United Minority Tendency, now the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, made three points then and in its recent document.

1. That the statement in Labor Challenge was an attack on the Argentine comrades.

2. That the statement was a breach of democratic centralism, going against the line of the Ninth World Congress publiclyy.

3. That the actions of the Canadian section put into question its loyalty to the Fourth International.

The first point is simply false. The statement expressed solidarity to the Argentine revolutionists and places the full blame for the violence on the Lanusse regime. It makes a fraternal criticism of the tactics employed by these comrades.

On the second point. Does democratic centralism mean that no section can publicly disagree with any action or statement of any other section -- actions over which there is no means of democratic control? What nonsense! Moreover we have already explained in our statement that it is formal and rigid of the comrades to pose that somehow the LSA/LSO could have hidden the debate. It was already outside the movement, since the position of the LSA has been very clear on kidnapping because of a somewhat similar incident in Quebec involving the FLQ.

The LSA did not publicly oppose a world congress decision, but a decision of a section which in point of fact was unsupported by a world congress decision. If the United Secretariat unfortunately refused to take a stand on the Sallustro kidnapping, the position of Trotskyism is clear and speaks volumes. The tactic of individual terror is condemned by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, indeed the entire experience and traditions of the Marxist movement.

On the third point. In our opinion the statement of the LSA Political Committee was proof of its loyalty to the Fourth International. Loyalty is not blind loyalty. It is taking the responsibility to see that the International has a correct orientation. It means that one does not adapt to mistakes which may occur but rather one has the obligation to make honest and fraternal criticism. This is no less than what the comrades in the situation would expect.

The tactic of individual terror has led to the needless death of many of our comrades in Latin America. In our opinion it was the majority leadership of the United Secretariat which did not act in the interests of the Fourth International by not criticizing the PRT-ERP's policy. In fact it gave silent assent by criticizing some of those who did raise a dissenting view (statement appended). Moreover, by endorsing individual terror it was the members of the United Secretariat and not the LSA Political Committee which went beyond the decisions of the World Congress.

Moreover the comrades of the tendency were not showing their loyalty to the Fourth International in boycotting Labor Challenge. Building the Fourth International is building the LSA/LSO. That is what the YS/LJS has committed itself to do.

What a shambles the Fourth International would be if individuals and tendencies in sections or sympathising organizations around the world refused to build their organizations because they were in sympathy with what some other section did or said. That is not Bolshevism. We do not say: "I want a piece of this section of the International and a piece of that section. I won't sell this issue, I'll sell another." We accept the Fourth International and the LSA/LSO as it is and commit ourselves to building them and working out questions as we go.

Similarly we reject any concepts held by currents in the left like the Old Mole, that they are Fourth Internationalists and Trotskyists, because they like one or two of its leading spokespersons. Building the Fourth International in Canada is building the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS.

What We Want to Adopt

At the last World Congress there were three main disputed questions:- the character of the leadership of the Chinese workers state; strategy for the Latin American revolution; and the nature of the youth radicalization.

As a youth organization and not being a section of the International, we are not called upon to take positions on all these questions. Rather we base our positions on those of the LSA/LSO Canadian section of the Fourth International with which we are in political solidarity. We do however follow the debate very closely, and I am sure all the comrades here have read the documents.

But on two of these questions we are called upon to act.

The document on the world-wide youth radicalization which was set aside at the last World Congress for continued discussion has been endorsed by our movement and has formed the whole basis for our intervention This question is crucial to our organization.

The debate over Latin America raises fundamental questions for Trotskyists. The positions have been documented and have been tested in life in the struggle in Latin America. Moreover it has become a question in our own movement as raised by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency.

So with this report the CEC is putting forward two positions for adoption by the plenum. First, we should re-affirm our support for the positions outlined in the document, the "World-wide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International". Secondly, we want to take a position on Latin America, specifically in opposition to the line of a continental strategy of rural guerrilla warfare.

The Youth Radicalization

As an independent youth organization, in sympathy with the Fourth International, the YS/LJS is involved in implementing one of the key orientations outlined at the last World Congress. There a motion was passed stating that the prime task before the Trotskyist movement was the winning to its ranks of the best of the new youth vanguard. The United Secretariat, which corresponds to our Central Executive Council in the structure of the world movement, had unanimously agreed on the document "The World-wide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International" and presented it to the delegates at the World Congress. Because of some criticisms raised by some of the French comrades and others the document was not voted on and the discussion was continued after the Congress. We supported and have endorsed that resolution.

The main points of that resolution are as follows.

There is a new generation of revolutionary fighters engaged in anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle. This youth radicalization has common features world-wide. It is rooted on the one hand in the world-wide crisis of imperialism and, on the other in the decline of Stalinism. As such the youth radicalization is not a passing phenomenon but a permanent feature of the revolutionary struggle today. Its prime arena is among students who have more time and freedom for political thought and activity. The massive university explosion which brought thousands into the universities has increased the potential impact of the student movement and deepened the ties of students to the problems facing the rest of their generation and to the struggles of the working class.

Experience has shown that the student movement can act as a detonator, or a transmission belt for radical ideas and action in the rest of society. A strategy is necessary to link student struggles to those of other sectors of the society. The resolution outlined the Red University strategy which both transcends and includes student struggles and demands. The Red University could never be fully achieved under capitalism but the struggle for it serves to maximize the impact of the student movement on the overall class struggle. While understanding the social weight of students relative to the working class and other oppressed sectors of the society, revolutionary socialists must give our work in the student movement great weight as it is at present the best arena for recruitment. Finally the resolution outlined the necessity to build independent youth organizations.

This resolution has been confirmed in the last three years both by our own experience here in Canada and Quebec and by events around the world.

The action by a million students in the USA following the Cambodia-Kent events in May 1970 provoked a deep political crisis for the American ruling class. Students were the backbone of the Mukti Bahini in the struggle for the independence of Bengla Desh and the universities are presently the centers of opposition to the bourgeois regime of Mujibur Rahman. In Sri Lanka, the youth of the Janatha Vimukthi Poramuna won enough support in the countryside that the government declared a state of emergency and sent in the army to put down the uprising. In the Young Socialist there have been reports on struggles in Malagasy, South Africa and Argentina where students played the central role. Student struggles have occured in Tunisia, Philippines, the Caribbean and other areas.

Students in Egypt occupied the universities. They raised demands calling on Sadat to arm the people to fight Zionism and to support the Palestinian liberation fighters. They appealed to the unions for support, and, when the unions were about to join the students in action, the army moved in to put down the upsurge.

In France, the student struggles this March approached the level of those in '68 in campaigns against the government's education "reform" program. There were strikes for guaranteed jobs upon graduation.

England saw its broadest upsurge of students ever. Our comrades intervened actively in the struggles in defence of the student unions which swept one third of the universities. The student upsurge linked up with the miners strike as students organized mass support demonstrations, adding the workers' demands to their own. Students provided accomodation to the miners' flying squads and raised speakers' fees for miner representatives.

In fascist Spain, beginning in the medical colleges thousands of students boycotted classes.

In the workers' states, students have played an important role. In October 1970, there was a ten-day student strike in Belgrade. The universities in Czechoslovakia remain the centers of resistance.

The conditions formenting the student revolt are not passing away but are deepening with each new crisis for the imperialists and for the

Stalinist bureaucrats. The rise of workers' struggles in the advanced capitalist countries has not killed the student movement or caused it to be by-passed. Rather, the struggles of the student movement have deepened. The emergence of the working class in action, while dominating the political scene, serves to inspire other layers of the population. This is the lesson of the British experience cited above.

Our experiences in Canada have been similar, and what we have learned is being discussed more fully in the Political report and in our political resolution. The actions by tens of thousands of students against Amchitka captured the attention of the entire country and drew sections of the labor movement into mass action. The struggles in Quebec against the extension of the school year began to make links with the May upsurge of the Quebecois workers. New student formations on a national and regional level are being formed. The universities were centers of protest against the War Measures Act.

The schools and universities remain a key area of intervention for revolutionary socialists and the most profitable one for recruitment at the present time. There are no sections of the Fourth International whose overwhelming majority of recruitment has not been from students.

We re-affirm our support to the document on the world-wide youth radicalization. We hope that our documents, discussion and experience can be useful in the coming debate prior to the World Congress of the Fourth International and to the day-to-day work of our comrades around the world.

Latin American Debate

At the last World Congress a resolution was adopted on Latin America. It asserted that: "the fundamental perspective, the only realistic perspective for Latin America is that of an armed struggle that may last for long years. This is why the technical preparation can not be seen merely as one of the aspects of revolutionary work, but as the fundamental aspect on a continental scale and one of the fundamental aspects in the countries where the minimum conditions have not yet been met." It stated that the principle axis of the work of the Trotskyist movement must be the technical preparation for and the engagement in rural guerrilla warfare. It stated that there have been great mass mobilizations of the Latin American masses but one "should not conclude from this that the classical variant of the progressive rise and broadening of the mass movement will occur." The repression in Latin America, it stated, was too great "and the adversary is in no wise ready to allow a mass revolutionary movement to organize more or less legally or normally." It further stated that "guerrilla warfare can stimulate a revolutionary dynamic" and what was needed was the "active sympathy, protection and solidarity of the masses".

The debate which this resolution opened has been the central debate in the world movement since the last World Congress. We see this debate as crucial because for us this guerrilla warfare line represents a serious drift away from the Trotskyist and Leninist strategy of party building, from the method of the transitional program and an adaptation to the Castroist and Guevarist currents in Latin America.

This debate is not only taking place in our movement but in the revolutionary vanguard around the world and most particularily in Latin America. It has been going on since the tremendous success of the Cuban revolution. The victory of Fidel Castro and the July 26 movement opened a whole new stage in the world revolution, and inspired a new generation of Latin American revolutionists. With the success of this heroic group ninety miles off the coast of the United States, a new debate opened among revolutionists on Guevarism, on the Cuban road to the revolution. For the July 26 movement, rural guerrilla warfare was its principle, and "Down With Batista" and secondarily land reform its only demands. Many saw this strategy as the path to the revolution.

The Trotskyist movement, which was the first to rush to the defence of the Cuban revolution, was also the first and only to put forward a correct analysis of the Cuban revolution and how and why it took place. We were not thrown back by the events, we did not see them as a refutation of our strategy of party building and mass mobilization, because we were able to analyse the particular and unique circumstances of that revolution.

The July 26 movement started out as a democratic movement with the single demand of Down with Batista, with, later and secondarily, land reform, which had overwhelming support of the country including of course the peasantry. The national bourgeoisie was split, (Che said "latifundistas were neutral") and some poured money into the movement. Che also wrote that "imperialism was suspicious at most" and the New York Times hailed the defeat of Batista and the victory of Castro. The army was demoralized due to the unpopularity of the regime. Castro was able to gain government control, and arm the masses while the ruling class was off guard, before beginning to move toward socialism.

This occurence cannot be repeated today as the tragic example of Che in Bolivia, of Santo Domingo, and the many rural guerrilla warfare experiments testify. Imperialism sees any democratic movement as a threat and has especially developed its technology and military to defeat it.

These were not the conclusions that the Cubans drew. Their conclusions, due to their lack of political experience, were essentially military ones -- that the military victory was the key, and that the countryside was the focus. Che's theory was that the revolution was ripe all over Latin America and that repression radicalizes the masses. The guerrilla group creates the conditions for that radicalization by provoking a social crisis and thus popular support would be immediately forthcoming. This conception has led to countless tragic defeats in Latin America. Che's fundamental error was in failing to see that while the socio-economic conditions were ripe, the political ones were not. He reduced the complex political process of the class struggle -- leading the day-to-day struggles of the masses, raising their consciousness, winning their confidence, breaking the hold of the reformists over the mass workers organizations, defeating other tendencies etc., etc. -- to a simple tactic of armed struggle. But above all the Cubans did not understand the necessity of building a vanguard party, rooted in the masses and capable of leading them.

There have been no fruits of the Guevarist strategy. Many of the heroic proponents of the rural guerrilla warfare strategy are rethinking their positions -- for example, the Chilean MIR (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria). Hugo Blanco has pointed out that there is a broad debate taking place in the whole Latin American vanguard, a whole generation looking for answers and trying to draw a balance sheet.

We, the Trotskyists, with our understanding of the Leninist theory of party-building, the Transitional Program, the importance of the urban proletariat, the Cuban events, are the only ones able to provide those answers. Our intervention in this debate is crucial.

But when we examine closely the continental strategy of rural guerrilla warfare as was posed at the last World Congress and is now put forward by some in the International including the Revolutionary Communist Tendency within our movement, we see that what it comes down to in life is not substantially different from the guerrillista strategy. It holds that because the repression is so fierce the task of mobilizing the masses and building the party must be set aside and rural guerrilla warfare launched. What the party does is simply recruit the minimum number of militants and provide liason and direction for the guerrilla groups. The tactic of guerrilla warfare becomes a strategy and the party is only presented as an adjunct of that. The "fundamental aspect" of revolutionary work is not mobilizing the masses and constructing the party, the heightening and deepening of the class struggle out of which at a certain stage the armed struggle will flow. No, the fundamental aspect of revolutionary work becomes the engagement in guerrilla warfare by vanguard elements in the hope that out of this the masses will be mobilized and the party built. The continental strategy of rural guerrilla warfare is a shortcut, placing tactics and technique above political program.

We characterize this epoch as an epoch of war and revolution, whose chief characteristic is that while the objective conditions exist for revolution there is not an organized vanguard which can lead the revolution. The whole strategy of the Leninist movement hinges around the building of parties along the lines of the Bolshevik model. The Leninist party is based on a political program, a program of class struggle. It recruits and trains vanguard elements. It fights with and mobilizes all layers of the society at all levels from the petition to the gun. It never substitutes for the masses. It has an international perspective.

The transitional program outlines a method by which, through patient and consistent organizational, agitational and propagandistic work we can mobilize the masses, raise their consciousness and recruit the best elements. We hold that there is no substitute, no shortcut for the building of the party. The party must be rooted in all the struggles of the oppressed, building their struggles where they are at. It can't be a small group far out in left field having simply the "solidarity" or "protection" of the masses. The emancipation of the proletariat will be by the proletariat itself.

What does the Trotskyist movement have to say about armed struggle? We know that armed struggle is necessary for the proletariat to be victorious, that the ruling class will not hand over the state peacefully. But the form of the armed struggle, its use, the assessment of the stage when it should be launched are tactical questions to be determined by the vanguard, based on the level of mobilization of the masses and their consciousness. To make rural guerrilla warfare a continental strategy for all times and places goes against the experiences of Leninism and Trotskyism. For us the overall strategy is party building.

Here is what Trotsky had to say in the Transitional Program:

"Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of workers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory -- and ends in the street... Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with youth groups, to organize groups for self-defense, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms.

"Only with the help of such systematic, persistent, indefatigable, courageous, agitational and organizational work, always on the basis of the experience of the masses themselves, is it possible to root out from their consciousness the traditions of submissiveness and passivity; to train detachments of heroic fighters capable of setting an example to all toilers; to inflict a series of tactical defeats upon the armed thugs of counter-revolution; to raise the self-confidence of the exploited and the oppressed; to compromise fascism in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie and pave the road for the conquest of power by the proletariat.

"Engels defined the state as bodies of "armed men". The arming of the proletariat is an imperative concomitant element to its struggle for liberation. When the proletariat wills it, it will find the road and means to arming. In this field also the leadership falls naturally to the sections of the Fourth International". (emphasis added)

In other words armed struggle, its use and forms are tactical questions to be decided by the party. It flows out of the mobilization of the masses themselves and their present consciousness and consists of the arming of the masses themselves. "The workers militias are the point of departure".

Here is what Hugo Blanco wrote concerning his experience with guerrilla warfare in Peru:

"The members of my guerrilla force (except an artificial element) were taken from the best in the union vanguard; it is sufficient to mention the organizational and economic secretaries of the Federacion Provincial de Campesinos and general secretaries of four unions.

People who had been looked down on for occupying themselves with demanding "crumbs" while the "genuine revolutionaries" argued over how to take power. This happened and will happen again; here and elsewhere. Today we are fighting for higher wages and against unemployment, with our old Transitional Program in hand. The audacious guerrillistas call us cowards, they tell us that we don't want to make the revolution or that we are thinking of doing it in tho year 2,000. We know that we will again take up arms in the city and in the countryside; we did it before they did, with the forces that emerged from our people, not artificially "a suero". With this in mind we are working patiently today in organizing the peasantry and in advancing the workers' wage demands. We have confidence in Comrade Trotsky because Chaupimayo showed us that he was right." (Letter to Joseph Hansen January 1970...page 55 (emphasis added)

What does the Trotskyist movement have to say about guerrilla warfare. It has been stated many times that Lenin advocated guerrilla warfare in 1906. But, as Joseph Hansen points out, the balance sheet of this experience was not drawn until 1940 by Trotsky when he wrote about it in his biography of Stalin. With the beginning of the reaction following the events of 1905, Lenin advocated guerrilla activities including "expropriations" (robbing banks) and as well a boycott of the Duma. Trotsky points out that these actions were based on an incorrect assessment of the situation and as a result were extremely destructive. The guerrilla actions were not episodes in between lulls in the civil war but isolated actions separated from the mass movement that was in decline.

"Finally, 'guerrilla warfare is an inescapable form of struggle... whenever more or less extensive intervals occur between major engagements in a civil war.' (From a resolution by Lenin). From the point of view of the general principles of the class struggle, all of that was quite irrefutable. Disagreements came with the evaluation of concrete historical circumstances. When two major battles of the civil war are separated from each other by two or three months, that interval will inevitably be filled in with guerrilla blows against the enemy. But when the 'intermission' is stretched out over years, guerrilla war ceases to be a preparation for a new battle and becomes instead a mere convulsion after defeat. It is of course not easy to determine the moment of the break...

"It was self evident that guerrilla activities had become sheer anarchism when it was necessary to utilize even the arena of Tsarist 'parliamentarism' in order to prepare the ground for the mobilization of the masses. At the crest of the civil war guerrilla activities augmented and stimulated the mass movement; in the period of reaction they attempted to replace it, but, as a matter of fact, merely embarassed the Party and speeded its disintegration. Oliminsky, one of the more noticeable of Lenin's companions-in-arms shed critical light on that period from the perspective of Soviet times. "Not a few of the fine youth," he wrote, "perished on the gibbet; others degenerated; still others were disappointed in the revolution. At the same time people at large began to confound revolutionists with ordinary bandits. Later, when the revival of the revolutionary labor movement began, that revival was slowest in those cities where "exes" (expropriation) had been most numerous." (Taken from In Defence of the Leninist Strategy of Party Building -- J. Hansen)

The point about the boycott of the Duma is very interesting. Many guerrilla groups who had previously boycotted elections in Latin America are now seeing the necessity to participate in them. For example, the PRT-El Combatiente in Argentina.

Some Myths and Misconceptions about Latin America

I want to discuss next some myths that exist about Latin America and the subsequent misconceptions that flow from them.

The first one concerns the myth about repression -- that the repression is so fierce that it is impossible for the mass movement to develop and for revolutionists to progress in building the party. We do not underestimate the terror unleashed by the state against its enemies nor are we unmindful of the number of fighters who have been tortured, imprisoned or killed. But it is important also to not underestimate the possibilities for revolutionary work.

I would like to take up two statements. The first is from the 1969 World Congress resolution: "The adversary is in no wise ready to allow a mass revolutionary movement to organize more or less legally". The second one is contained in the contribution by Germain and Knoeller. It re-appeared in a slightly different form in our Belgian weekly edited by Ernest Mandel:

"In the countries where the workers' movement has won its fundamental democratic rights, where it can blossom out freely, the application of the methods of guerrilla warfare is false and ineffective...

"The situation is quite different in the countries where the democratic rights of the workers movement have been suppressed or severely limited, where an open fascist or military dictatorship rules, where assassination, torture, concentration camps become the daily form of government of the capitalists".

The ruling class is in "no wise ready" ever to allow the mass movement to blossom freely, as War Measures and Kent State point out. The ruling class uses every method it can to break the mass movement, to attack it, from the Minneapolis general strike, to the SFU 114, to the Russian revolution.

The logic of the La Gauche article is to set up a formal schema -- to divide the world into two parts -- those where the mass movement is supposed to be able to blossom freely and those where it can't. Can't we break it down into three areas, or four? There is a more dangerous logic to it -- that is, that this analysis cannot be just applied to Latin America. Shouldn't revolutionists engage in guerrilla war in the Soviet Union, Greece, and Spain? Was Trotsky wrong in not launching guerrilla warfare in the Soviet Union in the thirties?

Thirdly it is a dangerous and defeatist position. It says that nothing can be done. All the mass mobilizations led by Hugo Blanco or in Cordoba have been demoralizing defeats. In reality while we do not minimize the tragic loss of life the mass mobilizations in Santo Domingo cost imperialism much more politically than the crushing of a handful of guerrillas in the mountains.

We know that repression is a function of the relationship of class forces and that it varies and oscillates between repression and concession. The effect of repression is determined by the degree of mobilization of the masses and can be neutralized by the power of the mass movement. The ruling class cannot crush powerful mass movements without provoking a deep crisis and confrontation of classes. The crushing of mass movements by repression or coups poses even more sharply the necessity of revolutionary leadership and mobilizations of all sections of the oppressed against the enemy. There is no alternative, especially the isolated actions of guerrilla bands.

Times of repression are most particularily the times when revolutionaries must stick close to the masses and never give up their orientation to mobilize them to defeat the state and take power. If this cannot be done there can be no revolution. Czarism was more repressive than the regimes in most Latin American countries today and the Bolsheviks worked in exile, underground and through whatever legal channels they could to build the party and organize the masses.

There have been many changes in the governments in Latin America and while the drift has been toward dictatorial regimes there have been a number of reformist ones as well.

What is the real situation in Latin America? Comrades who have been following the press of the world movement know that there have been many mass mobilizations in Argentina. In the trade unions in Argentina there exist factory committees in which all tendencies on the left participate. The PRT-Combatiente says that there are openings for legal mass work that must be utilized. This holds true for Uraguay as well. There are more democratic rights in Chile than in some countries in Europe. The peasant unions formed by Hugo Blanco still exist in Peru and there was an anti-war demonstration of 30,000 in Lima. There have been land seizures by the peasants in Colombia and in Venezuela every organ of the left is legal. Under fascist-like conditions in Brazil tens of thousands of workers operate in underground unions.

Another myth about Latin America is that it is in a perpetual state of civil war. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency places its analysis in the context of "a long civil war unfolding on a continental scale" (Thesis 1A, Latin America). This is completely false. A civil war is a civil war, that is the masses are armed and engaged in combat. The most obvious example is Vietnam.

Finally, the greatest misconception concerns guerrilla groups in Latin America. The myth is that all over Latin America all the time there are mass guerrilla organizations fighting in the mountains and operating in the cities. The real picture is different and somewhat tragic.

Many of the guerrilla groups have been smashed, many are in exile. No guerrillista current in Latin America has any left wing in any union anywhere. Neither the PRT-Combatiente nor the ERP are mass organizations. The comrades of the PRT-Combatiente say that they have only sympathy among the workers but no organic links.

Argentina and Bolivia

In order to develop the points I have raised above I want to go over the experiences of our comrades in two countries -- Argentina and Bolivia -- where opposing lines have been tested in the real life of the class struggle.

In Argentina there are two Trotskyist groups. One is the PRT-La Verdad which is a sympathizing organization and which opposes the line adopted at the last World Congress. The other is the official section the PRT-El Combatiente which holds to the perspective of a strategy of rural guerrilla warfare.

First the La Verdad group. These comrades are active in the factory committees, in the student movement, and the developing women's liberation movement. They were leaders of large strikes in Citroen, Petrol, bank-workers, Fiat and Chrysler. They are the leaders of the factory committees in auto, metal, teaching, banking, meat and telephones. They were in the leadership of the struggle in Cordoba. They have a thousand members and are the third largest Trotskyist organization of the world. They published an illegal weekly paper with a circulation of several thousand. All this was achieved while they were underground and while the PRT-Combatiente claimed that no mass work could be done.

They have now achieved legality through a unity with the Socialist Party -- they wrote the program, they are six to one of the membership, and six out of eight on the editorial board of Avanzada Socialista which has a circulation of 10,000. They took advantage of the bourgeois electoral laws which provide many facilities, signing up 30,000 members, thus getting a dollar per member from the government and free election material. They are running a socialist alternative pole against the bourgeois coalition, the GAN.

These comrades face repression. They couldn't legally sell the paper although they did it. But they are protected by their connection and work in the mass movement and they do not leave themselves open.

On the other hand, we have the example of the PRT-El Combatiente, the official section of the Fourth International which adheres to the strategy of guerrilla warfare. The exact size of this organization is unknown but it does not approach in size the Verdad group. Many of these courageous comrades are in jail. Some have been killed. The PRT-Combatiente was involved in the kidnapping of the capitalist boss Sylvester and in the killing of Oberdan Sallustro. By its own statements, as I mentioned earlier, it can claim only sympathy among the working class but has no real links to the mass organization having no cells in the factory committees. As evidenced by some recent statements published in The Militant, it has now come to see the opportunities for open mass work particularily as presented by the upcoming elections.

This brings me to the next point. Why it is impossible to have autonomous armed detachments which are part of the mass movement. The major point involved here is what was discussed in the transitional program -- the arming of the masses and the defence of the masses must flow from the mass of workers themselves and from their organizations. A small vanguard cannot declare itself the guardian of the workers.

Secondly, it is simply impossible to be a guerrilla and to implant yourself in the mass movement at the same time. You are defenceless and so is any one who associates with you. Trotsky wrote how those engaged in such actions must of necessity be so "hermetically sealed" that all contact with the masses is impossible.

Bolivia

It is in Bolivia that the disastrous effects of the line of a continental strategy of guerrilla warfare have been most clearly pointed out. This incorrect line which places the tactic of guerrilla warfare above the transitional program and party-building, blinded comrades to the possibilities that existed for the revolutionary mobilization of the masses and the construction of a vanguard party necessary for the seizure of power.

All comrades should read and study the important contribution on Bolivia by the Argentine comrade Anabel Lorenzo.

A great defeat was suffered in Bolivia. The army moved in against the workers, killing many and the air force bombers strafed the universities But the defeat stands out because of the tremendous possibilities which existed in Bolivia. Comrades will remember Livio Maitan's contribution "An Insufficient Document" to the last world congress which stated that the Fourth International would make a great "breakthrough" in Bolivia, that "the Fourth International would be built around Bolivia". But the majority of the congress looked for a shortcut to the revolution, adopted the guerrilla warfare line and in the ensuing events the revolution and the section were smashed.

Everything that was not supposed to happen in Latin America because of the repression, etc. -- happened. And it happened along the "classical" lines of the Bolshevik revolution. There was a split in the army, and like Kerensky, Torres rose to power on the crest of a mass mobilization of the workers. Workers' assemblies were established and an embryonic situation of dual power existed. This situation existed for two years with left groups able to participate openly in the assemblies.

The main difference between Bolivia of 1970 and the situation preceding the Russian revolution was that there existed no vanguard party capable of leading the workers to power.

The Bolivian Trotskyists were implementing the line of the world congress and were blinded by the guerrilla warfare strategy. They failed to use the opportunities that existed for legal work for moving into the leadership of the mass struggles, putting forward a program and a strategy that could develop the struggle for the arming of the masses.

A right wing coup took place followed by a terrific repression.

Those who hold to the line of a continental strategy of guerrilla warfare must face these facts.

This line represents an adaptation to the Guevarist strategy. It is a vain and disastrous search for a shortcut to the essential task of the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party. The RCT writes in its document "The LSA attacks on the Argentine section."

"It is not the task -- contrary to what the PC statement says -- to build the revolutionary party; rather the central axis of our strategic orientation in Latin America is the armed struggle, and it is around this central axis that our mass work and the construction of the party proceeds." (page 4)

It is an abandonment of the Transitional Program.

Joe Hansen writes on this theme in his "Assessment of the Draft Resolution on Latin America". I would like to read an extensive but very important and revealing quote.

"Once it has been decided that 'the principle axis for a whole period will be rural guerrilla warfare the term having primarily a geographical-military meaning' the question of transitional steps is narrowed to the extreme, becoming reduced even in the area of armed struggle. Even worse the central concept of the Transitional Program drafted by Trotsky on the utilization of transitional slogans and transitional measures (including the field of armed struggle) to mobilize the masses and construct a combat party, is hard to fit in with this 'principal axis' if it can be fitted in at all.

"The reasons for this are not difficult to discern. Trotsky's Transitional Program conceives the socialist revolution carried forward by mass mobilizations in the process of which a competent revolutionary leadership organized in a combat party is forged. The concept of rural guerrilla war as the principal axis for a long period, projects a small heroic elite carrying the battle in the absence of the masses and in areas remote from the cities. Thus if the concept of rural guerrilla warfare for a prolonged period is adopted as the principle axis of revolutionary work, then the problem of mobilizing the urban masses becomes somewhat irrelevant, and along with it most of the Taansitional Program." (page 25, LA Compilation)

The guerrilla warfare strategy reduces to a single tactic the complicated and necessary tasks of mobilizing the masses, raising their level of consciousness, defeating the reformistsin the workers movement, preparing the masses for the armed struggle and, above all, the patient propagandistic and agitational organizational and political work necessary for the construction of a Leninist party.

This line has meant many missed opportunities and many defeats. It has meant the miseducation of substantial forces within and without the Fourth International.

But the degree of disorientation caused by this line was never more clearly shown than in the events surrounding the Sallustro kidnapping. If one is going to support the military actions of a small elite then the logic is to support individual terror.

In the traditions of the Marxist movement which has had a long-standing position of opposition to individual acts of terror, we opposed the kidnapping of Sallustro by the PRT-Combatiente.

Contrary to what was said at the time by the RCT, the kidnapping was not an action closely linked to or flowing out of the mass movement, it was merely coincidental to the mass mobilization occuring at the time. It gave the ruling class a good opportunity to attack the mass movement. It was the isolated action of a small group taken against an individual capitalist in the name of the masses. The possible sympathy of sectors of the masses for an action and the mobilization of the workers themselves are two entirely different things.

There was no civil war going on, **in** the context of which such an action could be a spur to the masses. It was a spectacle for the masses.

There is much to be learned from the events following the first kidnapping by the PRT-ERP, the one involving Fiat boss Sylvester. The revolutionaries won their demands for wage increases and better conditions in the factory and Sylvester was released. A month later elections were held in the factory committee and the left wing lost and the right was elected. And of course conditions soon worsened. The kidnapping had taught the workers nothing. It had not helped to break their reformist illusions nor taught them how to struggle, or even that they should struggle. To go off and organize elite actions is to abandon the mass organizations of workers to the reformists.

I have already mentioned the problem posed to the world movement by the Sallustro kidnapping. The action represented a departure from the principles and traditions of the Fourth International. Moreover the action was widely publicised and identified as a Trotskyist action. The world movement was called upon to respond -- to state its agreement or disagreement with the tactic employed by the Argentine comrades. It is in this light the Political Committee issued its statement and that we endorsed it when called upon to do so. When we did so we anticipated that the United Secretariat would also make a public statement as they had done a few months earlier in criticizing the Bolivian comrades signature of the FRA statement endorsing a popular front.

We find it very unfortunate that they did not. The majority leadership of the Fourth International abdicated their responsibility as a leadership to defend the principles of the Fourth International and educate the comrades involved. By criticising those sections which in a fraternal way dissociated themselves and by giving silent approval to the action, the majority leadership foisted a new line on the International.

Sometime later two articles appeared in the press of the world movement -- both have been reprinted and are available in your plenum kits (appended). One is a center spread unsigned article in La Gauche, the Belgian weekly edited by Ernest Mandel. The other is an article by Danial Bensaid, a leading member of the Ligue Communiste in the French section paper Rouge. They both point out the danger of accepting terrorist actions because the authors are forced to develop incorrect theories in order to justify them. They try to integrate individual terrorism into Leninism.

The dangers posed in these articles point out clearly the correctness of the LSA/LSO's action in taking a principled stand against the Sallustro kidnapping.

Summary

Because we are committed to building the Fourth International and its reality in Canada today, the LSA/LSO, these debates are extremely important to us. As well, the questions being raised are crucial to our own work and the discussions are a great education for us. Similar questions are also being raised in our own organization. So, we want to follow the debate very closely.

The CEC has asked the Political Committee of the LSA/LSO to release to us the Political Resolution of the International Marxist Group, the statement of the United Secretariat concerning the statements of the LSA/LSO and the Socialist Workers Party on the Sallustro kidnapping, and the Fact-Finding Commission into the British Section. These documents are already in the hands of some of our comrades and as such we would like them to be released to our entire organization.

In adopting this report comrades are voting on four main points:

1. To re-affirm our unconditional support for and our committment to build the LSA/LSO, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

2. To underwrite the CEC's endorsation of the statement of the LSA/LSO Political Committee on the Sallustro kidnapping.

3. To re-afirm our support to the document "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International".

4. To take a position against the line of a continental strategy of rural guerrilla warefare, in Latin America.

We want all the comrades to read the international bulletins and to discuss this report in the locals. In educating ourselves and orienting our own intervention in the process we are making a valuable contribution to the building of the World Party of Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International.

May 6 '72
YS/LJS C.O.

TO ALL LOCALS AND MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

CEC STATEMENT-concerning the Labor Challenge boycott and the LSA/LSO statement on the Argentine kidnapping

The recent kidnapping of Oberdan Sallustro, general manager of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concorde, by the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) and his subsequent death aroused wide interest around the world. This dramatic action which received extensive attention in all the bourgeois media was termed a Trotskyist action in the majority of the reports. The ERP's employment in the given situation of the tactic of kidnapping is a matter of great concern to the world revolutionary movement, and in particular, in light of a somewhat similar incident involving the FLQ last fall, to Canadian revolutionaries.

In response to this situation and the questions raised about this incident by both sympathizers and opponents of the movement, the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière published a statement in Labor Challenge solidarizing the LSA/LSO with the struggle of the Argentine revolutionists in the PRT-ERP, but expressing its disagreement with the methods they are employing in this struggle, in particu their use of kidnapping.

Toronto Local

At the April 9 meeting of the Toronto local of the YS/LJS, the comrades of the Unified Minority Tendency read a statement declaring that the Political Committee statement on Argentina in the Labor Challenge was a public "vicious and slanderous attack" on the Argentine comrades. The tendency comrades stated that the Political Committee in the statement equated the ERP and the FLQ. They further declared that they "refused to sell the April 10 issue of Labor Caallenge and called on other comrades of the local to do the same". The tendency comrades also presented motions which "demanded that the Toronto YS local dissociate itself from the PC statement" and that Dennis Lomas, member of the local and LSA/LSO Central Comitee member, be called upon to "defend the PC statement at the next local meeting."

Due to the seriousness of the questions involved in the tendency statement, the local referred the discussion of the declarations and the motions to the next meeting and instructed the executive to organize a discussion.

At the next local meeting, Comrade Lomas made a report on the P.C.'s reasons for publishing the statement and on the positions put forward in it. The organizer presented an executive report which dealt with League-Youth relations and concluded with three motions from the executive. After extensive discussion, the motions were adopted overwhelmingly. They were: 1. We reject any concept of boycotting Labor Challenge and uphold our unconditional support of the LSA and its paper. 2. We denounce the comrades for their action of boycotting Labor Challenge. 3. We endorse the PC statement. This was neither a censure nor a disciplinary action, but a firm statement of the local's opinion on the boycott.

any members of the local.

League - Youth relations

The actions taken by the tendency comrades in Toronto, Halifax and Fredericton were very serious actions. They put into question, indeed challenged, the cornerstone of the YS/LJS -- its relationship to the LSA/LSO, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

For the students and you. . of the YS/LJS the construction of the vanguard party necessary to lead the working class in socialist revolution is not an abstract question. It is the concrete necessity to build, defend and collaborate with the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the nucleus of that vanguard party and the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The YS/LJS is essentially a student movement, and the LSA/LSO is our link to the vanguard elements of the Canadian and Quebecois working class.

We see ourselves as an "organizationally independent part of a common movement" with the LSA/LSO, a movement which is united in the task of constructing the Trotskyist leadership necessary to lead the working class and its allies to victory. This is the kernel of our politics and is part of the day-to-day life of our movement.

This relationship is formalized in Article 3 of our constitution and the statement on League-Youth relations passed by our 1965 convention and printed on pages 15-16 of "Organizing the YS/LJS". We declare " our adherence to the objectives and program of the LSA/LSO" and to "the policies that the League represents and advocates in the ranks of the adult Canadian working class."

The essence of this relationship --- wherein we declare very clearly our full political solidarity with the LSA/LSO and view ourselves as part of a common movement --- is that our support to the LSA/LSO, Canadian section of the Fourth International, is unconditional. That is not to say uncritical; but in no way do we have a tentative or ambivalent attitude to the LSA/LSO, threatening at any moment to withdraw our support from the movement which is assembling the cadres for the Canadian revolution, from the nucleus of the vanguard party, from the Canadian section of the Fourth International, because we may disagree with a particular policy.

The tendency comrades by their decision to boycott Labor Challenge and their advocacy that our entire movement boycott it place conditions on our support to the Canadian section. "We will not support you unless you do so and so" is what they are saying.

Our resolution on League-Youth relations states that any differences should be worked out between the leaderships of the YS and the LSA. The tendency comrades, by taking their hasty action without even asking for an explanation from the PC for its statement, can only be declaring their disregard for the LSA and their complete unwillingness to seriously work out their differences with the Canadian section.

Moreover, the boycott of the League paper represented a public attack on the League. Comrades would have to explain why they have ceased to circulate Labor Challenge.

The boycott also represents an attack on the Fourth International. The commitment and loyalty of the YS/LJS to the Fourth International is through and only through its commitment and loyalty to the Canadian section, the LSA/LSO. The YS/LJS is not a sympathising section of the Fourth International, but a sympathising youth organization, and as such, its identity with the Fourth International is through its identity with the Canadian section, which is the LSA/LSO.

While the Labor Challenge is the paper of the Canadian section, we view this paper as our own. We carried this paper onto the campuses and into the high schools, on the joint sub drive. Not only do we find this paper useful, we identify ourselves with it.

This flows from our political solidarity with the LSA/LSO which is part of the day-to-day life of our movement. The motion to boycott Labor Challenge passed by the Halifax and Fredericton locals and urged by the Toronto tendency comrades is a violation of our relationship with the LSA/LSO as established by our conventions and by our traditions and daily functioning. As the elected leadership of the YS/LJS, it was the responsibility of the CEC to see that this relationship was not violated by individuals or locals, but upheld. Therefore, the CEC declared the Halifax and Fredericton motions null and void and underwrote the actions of the Toronto local.

The PC Statement

The YS/LJS is organizationally independent of the LSA/LSO. We hold our own conventions, elect our own leadership and decide our own policies.

We have declared ourselves to be in political solidarity with the LSA/LSO and part of a common movement with it, united in the task of building a revolutionary vanguard party.

As such, we do not take our own independent position on every question which may arise on the political scene but rather base our policy on he decisions and positions adopted by the section -- e.g. Ireland, Bangladesh. By the same token, we are not called upon to underwrite every action of the LSA/LSO.

However, since the Halifax, Fredericton and Toronto comrades demanded that the CEC take a position, the CEC discussed the Argentine kidnapping and the PC statement and declared its endorsement of it.

Not an Attack

The CEC does not consider the PC statement to be an attack on the Argentine comrades. The statement solidarizes itself with them and their aims and clearly states that the violence "originates from the repressive measures carried out against the masses by a dictatorial regime". Within this framework of solidarity, it does however express disagreement on their employment in the given situation of the tactic of kidnapping.

Comrades should note that the LSA branches and the YS locals in the Metro Toronto area are presently involved in the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners which is most active in publicizing the repression in Argentina. The LSA/LSO regards the revolution as extremely important and carries the defence not just in words but in deeds. This broad campaign which we are attempting to build will be no small aid to their struggle.

The statement does not equate the FLQ with the ERP, but rather attempts to show that the Canadian section's views on kidnapping are based on real life experience.

The Statement was Necessary

The circumstances surrounding the incident made it necessary in our opinion for the PC to express the disagreement of Canadian Trotskyists with the tactics employed by the Argentine comrades.

The kidnapping received wide coverage in the international media, front-page articles in Canadian newspapers and frequent reports on radio and TV. The employment of kidnapping is a matter of great concern to the world revolutionary movement and in particular to Canadian revolutionists who faced a somewhat similar incident involving the FLQ last fall. The Argentine incident demanded that revolutionaries take a stand.

But the fact that the vast majority of the publicity called the kidnapping a Trotskyist action and a wide interest was provoked amongst both sympathisers and opponents of our movement to the point where several people contacted us to learn our position, it was necessary for the Trotskyist movement, especially the Canadian section, to express its opinions on the incident. In our opinion, it was the responsibility of the Political Committee to defend the line of the LSA/LSO which was very clearly established during the October crisis as being in opposition to individual acts of terrorism. The LSA/LSO had a responsibility to all those who look to the Canadian Trotskyist movement for direction to state its opinions on the Argentine events. In our opinion, the LSA/LSO had no choice but to make public its position to maintain the credibility of its line that was based on the experiences historically of the Leninist movement and the recent experience of Canadian revolutionaries.

Terrorism

The brutal capitalist regime of General Lanusse, which is responsible for the imprisonment, torture and death of hundreds of political prisoners, must be overthrown. Only the actions of the great masses of people can achieve this. But experience has shown that acts of individual terrorism such as kidnapping and assassination substitute the actions of a few, however heroic, sincere or highly organized, for the actions of the masses themselves.

Moreover, the vast majority must be led, organized and educated by a mass revolutionary socialist party. Any tactics employed by revolutionaries must aid this strategy of winning support for and building the revolutionary vanguard party.

Regardless of intentions, individual terrorist acts and a policy of individual terrorism harm this strategy.

Such acts against individual officials or capitalists creates illusions amonst working people. They make it appear that the state consists of a few men rather than numerous repressive institutions controlled by a ruling class; or that the class struggle consists of demanding reforms from these individuals rather than seizing state power; or that the way forward for the working class is through dramatic actions by a few on its behalf rather than by collective mass action.

The tasks of revolutionistis is to isolate the ruling class politically. Through mass defensive actions by the working class, one shows that the rulng class is the source of violence and oppression. Individual terrorist acts end to place the blame in the eyes of the masses on the revolutionary left.

Individual terrorist acts give the ruling class the excuse to mobilize he full weight of its reppessive apparatus. The War Measures Act was proof of this, wherein the Trudeau government, playing on the backwardness of the English Canadian working class, willingly sacrificed Laporte and brought he troops and political round-ups to decapitate and intimidate the mass movement. Similarly, in Argentina, the government responded with martial law, sending army troops with dogs on house-to-house searches. Many of our comrades of the PRT-ERP have been picked up.

At a time when the student and labor movement of Quebec were beginning to head boldly onto the political arena, moving toward another October upsurge, when they would demonstrate and exercise their own power in struggle for their own just demands, the FLQ decided to reduce the Quebecois masses to the role of spectators, in fact innocent bystanders, by an act of rustration.

The task of Argentine revolutionists was to devote their full energies o the organization and leadership of the general strikes that were developing in San Juan and Cordoba.

The task of revolutionists is to be involved in the day-to-day struggle, projecting demands which deepen and broaden the struggle, developing the condence of the masses and above all, building the revolutionary socialist party necessary to overturn capitalism.

It is in this light that the CEC endorsed the PC statement.

Democratic Centralism and the Fourth International

The comrades of the tendency stated that the position put forward by the PC in the Argentine statement went against the positions adopted by the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International, and that in making the statement public, the PC violated the norms of the Fourth International which governs itself on the principles of democratic centralism.

The Fourth International has no stand endorsing kidnapping, either as a strategy or as a tactic. Moreover, kidnapping is a tactic of some significance, since the world bourgeoisie has a worked-out strategy on how to deal with it. Trudeau's line of refusing to negotiate, initiating War Measures and sacrificing Laporte was publicly underwritten by Nixon and follwed by the Spanish and now the Argentine bourgeoisie.

The tendency comrades reveal a very formalistic and rigid concept of democratic centralism when they state that the LSA/LSO, in publicly differentiating itself from the actions of another section, was violating the norms of the international movement.

While the PC would be the first to state that their actions were not normal, it must also be added that the circumstatnces were not normal. Democratic centralism is a fluid organizational tool, and not a fixed, abstract principle, and what is desirable and necessary must be decided by the circumstances.

For example, the debate that broke out in the SWP in the late 30's with Burnham-Schachtman was carried publicly in the press of the world movement. This was done in consultation with Trotsky. The circumstances were such that issues of the debate could not be considered internal. There was wide debate on this question in the revolutionary movement around the world, and Trotsky and other leading comrades of the International felt that it was artificial to conceive that the debate could properly be confined to the cadre of the Fourth International.

We decide what is the best way to carry our discussions. The Trotskyist movement is neither a conspiracy nor a showcase -- that is, we neither tell all nor hide all, but decide according to the circumstances. We make a division between the internal and the external in order that we can discuss free from outside pressures, and the division shifts according to our needs or requirements.

In this case, the question of kidnapping, in fact the debate on kidnapping was already in the public domain. The action was known around the world and particularily in Canada as a Trotskyist action. The publicity identified kidnapping as a policy of the Trotskyist movement, whereas anyone acquainted with the Canadian section and its press, both sympathisers and opponents alike, would know that the LSA/LSO stood against kidnapping as a method of struggle. The Canadian section was called upon to clarify the situation and it is artificial and formal to think that somehow the PC could have hidden the debate.

Summary

As a sympathizing youth organization, the identity of the YS/LJS to the Fourth International is through and only through its identity with the Canadian section, the LSA/LSO. Loyalty to the Fourth International is not an abstract sentiment or adherence to some far-off organization. It is the day-to-day reality of building and defending the Canadian section of the Fourth International, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

It is this relationship with the LSA/LSO which ties the YS/LJS to the world working class movement. But most important, it is this relationship of unconditional support to the Canadian section, to the nucleus of the vanguard party, which makes us part of the process of assembling the cadres and constructing the party which are necessary to the Canadian socialist revolution. It is this relationship which makes us unique among the youth movements of Canada and Quebec, which places us in the center of the historic process.

This relationship is central to the politics of the YS/LJS. The hasty actions taken by the comrades in Halifax, Fredericton, and Toronto put our support to the LSA/LSO in question and it was in consideration of this that the CEC took its action. It is the hope of the CEC that this experience has only served to deepen the understanding of the entire movement of our relationship with the nucleus of the vanguard party in Canada, the LSA/LSO.

APPENDIX: #2 MOTIONS PRESENTED AT THE APRIL 15-16 MEETING OF THE UNITED SECRETARIAT

Motion by Pierre
The United Secretariat of the Fourth International disapproves of the publication in the Militant and Labor Challenge of resolutions adopted by the leaderships of the Socialist Workers Party and the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere concerning the kidnapping of Sallustro by the Argentine ERP, the armed organization led by the Partodo Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) Argentine section of the Fourth International.

Such public declarations could well encourage sections to follow this example of public attacks against other sections, which would be highly damaging to the whole International.

In addition, these resolutions do not express any solidarity towards these comrades, at the moment when a fierce campaign is underway against them.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International resolves not to publish these two resolutions in the International's organs, or in organs expressing its positions.

This resolution is not for public circulation.

Vote: For: 6 Against: 5
Consultative for: 1 Consultative Against: 1

CARRIED

Motion by Juan
That the United Secretariat issue a public statement on the kidnapping of Sallustro making the following points:

1)Indicate the economic, social and political crisis racking Argentina, citing some examples, such as the massive strikes, demonstrations and uprisings in various cities, the latest one being Mendoza

2)Indicate the origin and purpose of the military dictatorship, that it constitutes an illegal regime, ruling in violation of the constitution.

3)Outline the brutal methods used by the military dictatorship such as suppression of student and workers demonstrations, suppression of strikes, arbitrary imprisonment of union leaders and union militants, the use of kidnapping, torture, and murder of political opponents. Name some of the political prisoners held by the hundreds in the jails of Argentina.

4)Give some facts on the frustration, anger, and instinctive elemental reaction, particularly among youth, who want immediate direct action against the dictatorship.

5)Describe briefly the historical political crisis facing the Argentine working class, above all the absence of a mass revolutionary Marxist party of the kind the Fourth International is seeking to build in all countries, that could guide the struggle effectively toward an early revolutionary victory.

6) Stress the influence of guerrilla struggles in Latin America and elsewhere in which the action of a small group has been substituted for action by the masses, leading to adventurism, and away from the construction of a mass revolutionary Marxist party regardless of the intentions of the guerrilla fighters.

7) Specify in a few sentences that we consider the PRT-ERP to have fallen i into errors of this kind, the most spectacular being the kidnapping and execution of Sallustro. Include a brief explanation of how acts like the kidnapping and execution of Sallustro injure the work of building the mass revolutionary party required to overturn Argentine capitalism, and how the world press has taken advantage of the Sallustro affair to attempt to discredit Trotskyism by identifying it with terrorism.

8) Reaffirm that the Fourth International expresses its solidarity with the courageous militants of the PRT-ERP regardless of their mistaken course and pledges to step up its campaign in their defense and in defense of all the political prisoners held in the jails of Argentina.

Vote: For: 5 Against: 6
Consultative for: 1 Consultative Against: 1

DEFEATED

APPENDIX #3

Class Struggle and Armed Struggle in Argentina

(Editorial article translated from the April 21 issue of La Gauche, which is edited by Ernest Mandel.)

For years, Argentina has been undergoing a social, economic, and political crisis of exceptional gravity. The bourgeoisie of this country succeeded in starting a process of accelerated industrialization , profiting from the second world war and the immediately following period. In order to gain concessions from imperialism, it permitted the rise of a powerful mass trade union movement under the Peronist regime.

Thanks to the resources accumulated during the favourable years, it was possible to grant considerable reforms to the working class. A strong Peronist trade union bureaucracy participated in managing the institutions of social security, profiting from the strength acquired by the mass movement and aiding the bourgeoisie in keeping it within the framework of the capitalist system.

Behind the Crisis

The material foundation of this whole system melted away during the fifties and sixties. That is why we witnessed successively the downfall of the Peronist regime, a permanent crisis of the post-Peronist political regimes, the installation of a military dictatorship that is still in power, and the current attempt to bring Peronism back under the wings of the regime.

With the re-establishment of the world market, dominated by imperialism, the further development of Argentine industry was blocked. The concessions won by the working class following the second world war proved to be incompatible with even a relative competitiveness of Argentine products on the international market.

The big imperialist monopolies increased their penetration of the Argentine market, becoming more and more associated with so-called "national" Argentine big capital. There was only one road open to the Argentine bourgeoisie to save themselves from certain economic ruin: brutal lowering of the workers' standard of living. Permanent inflation, unemployment, elimination of the state subsidies to public and social services--these were the main means utilized to achieve this end. Solely within the last seven months, the buying power of the wages of the Argentine workers was reduced about 40%, as estimated by the trade unions.

The Argentine working class, of legendary militancy in Latin America, did not stand by passively in face of these fierce attacks against its elementary interests. It sought to answer blow for blow, particularly by means of powerful general strikes in which successively 3,000,000, then 4,000,000, and then 5,000,000 workers participated.

Although the capitalists engage in maneuvers in face of this impressive force in order to gain time, they cannot concede anything substantial. The effectiveness of these broad struggles is limited moreover, so long as they are content to exercise pressure on the successive governments without posing the questions of power, and in fact tolerate power being held in the hands of various factions of the bourgeois class.

But, while the Peronist bourgeoisie was able to utilize the advantages gained by the workers under the Peronist regime to maintain rigid control over the mass movement, the situation began to change during recent years. The experience of the Cuban revolution, the more and more heated anger of the toiling masses over the successive blows against their standard of living; the appearance of a new vanguard of workers and youth who no longer accept in any way the subordination of the mass movement to the interests of this or that faction of the bourgeoisie--all this has brought about bit by bit the erosion of the Peronist control of the working class.

Successive layers of the workers have liberated themselves from this control, whether consciously or simply by the way they act. More and more they are going beyond the purely reformist slogans of the trade union bureaucracy.

Thus a series of veritable insurrections of the workers have occurred on a local scale since 1969: two times in Cordoba, once in Rosario and in Tucuman. In the last few days, from April 4 to April 7, an insurrection of the same kind occurred at Mendoza in response to a decision of the government to double (sic) at one stroke the electric power rates.

A Country on the Verge of Civil War

The bourgeoisie, up against the wall, is perfectly conscious of the fact that the country stands at the verge of civil war. Its reply is being developed along two planes, or rather by a combination of two maneuvers.

On the one hand, by preparing a "Grand National Accord" with the Peronists and all the other bourgeois parties, the capitalists hope to reintegrate the Peronist trade union bureaucracy into the government structures, divide the more moderate layers of the working class from the more radicalized layers, and reorient all the combative energy of the masses once again into reformist and electoralist roads. But the big obstacle to actual success in this maneuver is the incapacity economically of the bourgeoisie to grant genuine, substantial concessions to the masses.

On the other hand, the system is equipped with a military dictatorship. The attempts of the working class to provide itself with a class-struggle leadership are systematically repressed by violence. At the Fiat plant in Cordoba, the organization of the workers into two trade unions, SITRAM-SITRAC, under a left-wing leadership that led several victorious strikes, brought about occupation of the plant by the gendarmerie, the firing of 500 workers, the dissolution of the unions, the arrest of the trade union delegates who had been democratically elected by the workers.

They joined in prison hundreds upon hundreds of political prisoners, who are being held indefinitely without any kind of trial, or who are deported to concentration camps in Patagonia. The total number of these political prisoners is held by some to reach 3,000. The Revolutionary Workers Part . Argentine section of the Fourth International, which is not a mass organization, itself alone has 150 members in prison.

The military dictatorship is not content with arresting militant workers and revolutionists. It tortures and assassinates. General Sanchez, commander of the 2nd military regime--whom the guerrillas just executed--used torture in Rosario against all the political prisoners belonging to the revolutionary organizations. He boasted publicly (see the April 12, 1972, issue of Le Monde) of advocating the assassination of revolutionists: "If it was up to me," he said, "I would throw them out of a plane without a parachute."

It seems that more than he and his cohorts are involved, since the April 11, 1972, issue of the New York Times had to admit that many political prisoners disappear without a trace, that is, they are assassinated by the dictatorship.

This is the background that must be taken into account in judging the actions of our comrades of the Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP), led by the PRT. How is it possible not to denounce the hypocrisy of all the good souls, beginning with the Pope, who are shedding crocodile tears over the fate of the manager of Fiat, Sallustro-whom the Lanusse government cold-bloodedly sent to his death--or the sinister butcher, Sanchez, but who have not found a word to denounce, criticize, or even regret the abominable assassinations of workers and of revolutionists, against which the actions of the Argentine guerrillas are only replies.

Our comrade, Luis Pujals, one of the leaders of the PRT, was kidnapped in full view in the streets by the secret police, savagely tortured to death and murdered. What voice among all these "moral authorities", who are so voluble today, was lifted then to denounce these "methods contrary to all the laws of civilization"? To condemn these methods when they strike the butchers but to remain quiet when they strike their victims; to speak in emotional tones regretting the death of a boss and of torturers but accepting as the most normal thing in the world the death of workers and of revolutionary militants underscores the "moral" hypocrisy that is the rule in bourgeois society.

Is Guerrilla War Contrary to the Traditions of the Workers Movement?

As was to be expected, Berlinguer, the general secretary of the Italian CP, decided to join in the orchestra disapproving the actions of the ERP: "We reject the methods of individual terrorism, contrary to the principles and traditions of the workers movement," he hastened to proclaim, out of fear that the events in Argentina might cause him to lose a few votes in the current electoral campaign in Italy.

Our comrades of the ERP do not uphold individual terrorism at all and do not practice it either. They uphold the principles of urban guerrilla war, which is hardly foreign to the traditions of the workers movement. That is, unless one excludes from this workers movement Lenin, who advocated guerrilla war after December 1905 in Russia, Fidel Castro and "Che" Guevara, who utilized it to facilitate the first victory of a socialist revolution in Latin America, and many, others besides whom no sophistical distinguo (hair-splitting distinction) can banish from labor and revolutionary history.

The position of the revolutionary Marxists towards the problem of guerrilla war is well-known and conforms to their principles.

In the countries where the workers movement has won its fundamental democratic rights, where it can blossom out freely, the application of the methods of guerrilla war is false and ineffective. The working class, which represents the interests of the immense majority of the nation, has no need of violence at all to attain its objectives Violence is used against it at certain moments in its development by its adversaries when they see no way out. In this case, it must create bodies of self-defense, an outcome of its own forms of mass organization. In the same way, threats of the rebirth of fascism must touch off vigorous replies, but which can and must be implanted normally in the mass movement of the workers.

It is the growth and organic force of the workers movement that permits, under these conditions, saving the utilization of the forms of action of guerrilla warfare, which are incomprehensible to the masses as long as that free growth remains assured.

The situation is quite different in the countries where the democratic rights of the workers movement have been suppressed or severely limited, where an open fascist or military dictatorship rules, where assassination, torture, concentration camps become the daily form of government of the capitalists. In this case the masses find themselves either intimidated for a period, lacking an immediate reply to an adversary ready to go to any lengths, or they see their movement condemned to take the form of a succession of spasmodic explosions, interspersed with phases of ebb and despair.

When the adversary systematically fires on any mass demonstration that displays the slightest radicalism; when he savagely represses any strike and any union that goes beyond reformist objectives, the concrete choice facing militant workers is reduced in reality to three possibilities: either deliberately restrain the movement in order to avoid a bloody confrontation with the repressive forces, or consider as inevitable a confrontation between unarmed masses and repressive forces armed to the teeth, or, without delay, to get on with preparing and organizing the arming of the masses.

The two first possibilities are politically inadmissible and in any case unrealistic. The Argentine experience clearly demonstrates that no matter what the "wisdom" may be of the slogans advanced by incurable neo-reformists, when the anger of the masses reaches a certain level, successive explosions are inevitable. It is the elementary duty of revolutionists to act in such a way that they occur in the best possible conditions for the workers.

The third possibility is subdivided again into two variants. There are those who espouse the principle that it is requisite for the masses to answer with their own arms against the arms of the slaughterers. But they prefer to await the moment when the masses themselves find the means to take the intitiative in this respect. It is not until after this moment that the vanguard is justified in taking the initiative.

This position appears to us to be tinged with pontaneist illusions. It transforms the vanguard into a tail-endist rearguard. In practice it condemns the arming of the masses to be delayed up to the moment the dictatorship sinks by itself. Because one cannot see very well how, under the conditions of dictatorship and the illegality of all political initiatives of the slightest radical import, the masses would find the means to openly constitute a military apparatus of a legal nature, so to speak.

There remains the last variant, which is that proposed and applied by our Argentine comrades. The revolutionists construct autonomous and clandestine armed detachments, which are implanted in the mass movement as it matures and attains higher and higher levels, in order to stimulate in it the formation of broader and broader armed detachments, which they can fuse.

At the time of the Mendoza insurrection -- where our comrades were not yet implanted -- the presence of such armed detachments would have served as an organizing pole for the most advanced elements among the workers, each fighting cell, already trained and armed, becoming the organizer of a larger group of workers. Instead, the workers had to confront bare-handed a band of assassins of the people, who fired without mercy on the crowds of workers and on their homes, massacring several dozen persons. But how to improvise on the spot the arming, organization, and tactics of self-defense groups?

Moreover it was this role of armed protection, cover, and regroupment of the insurgent masses that was played by the comrades of the ERP at the time of the last uprising in Cordoba. But to be able to play this role it is necessary first of all to be organized for this end, to be trained and experienced, to have gained the sympathy of the masses and to have broken -- in the mind of the masses -- belief in the invincibility and invulnerability of the repressive apparatus. These are all functions that the guerrilla fighters must fulfill.

A Duty of Revolutionary Solidarity

Revolutionary Marxists, contrary to the populists or the partisans of Regis Debray, do not at all consider guerrilla war to be a universal panacea. It is only one form of struggle among others, even in countries where a dictatorship is in power. It must fulfill a precise function there which is attached to others: the construction of a revolutionary party; the elevation of the mass movement to a level of generalized revolutionary action.

Marxists reject any blind faith in this or that tribune, including armed tribunes, to free the workers. The emancipation of the workers can only be achieved by the workers themselves. On the road to that emancipation, in confronting bloody dictatorships, guerrilla war can be a remarkable weapon, under precise conditions and in a precise context, as the teachings of history confirm.

The Fourth International is not a hyper-centralized organization. Its international bodies determine only the general political line of the movement. Tactical decisions are strictly the province of the national sections. It is in this sense that the Fourth International does not have to take the responsibility for every tactical decision of this or that particular national section, nor judge it either. To be able to express such a judgment in a responsible manner, it would be necessary in addition to have available a number of detailed facts, which we lack for the moment.

Our duty in face of the hysteria unleashed in the press against our comrades of the PRT and the ERP is summed up, under these conditions, in two points. First of all in the affirmation of our complete solidarity with these courageous comrades, targets of a campaign of denigrations, the hypocrisy of which is disgusting. This solidarity, moreover, must not remain purely verbal. A committee for the defense of the political prisoners in Argentina has been set up in Paris under the sponsorship of Comrade Carpani, the representative of the Argentine trade union confederation, the CGT. This committee is in urgent need of aid and of extension to other countries of Europe.[1] This must be assured to it.

Next, in the affirmation of our agreement with the general orientation of the PRT of developing the armed struggle, while expressing the hope that our comrades will find the means to link this struggle in the most intimate way to the development of the mass struggle, with the broadening of an organized base among the masses, and with a clear political orientation toward the socialist and proletarian revolution, against any concept of a revolution by stages.

The lesson to be drawn from the events in Argentina in this regard is, moreover, of universal importance. The temptation to resort to a fascist regime or to a military dictatorship constantly recurs to the bourgeoisie as soon as the class struggle becomes exacerbated anywhere in the world.

The possessing classes must be made to know that after the experience of the barbarous Nazi atrocities, the young vanguard throughout the world will never again tolerate the most abject form of civil war: that in which one camp is armed to the teeth, and murders, tortures, and oppresses without mercy, while the other camp is physically, psychologically, and politically disarmed, and resigns itself passively to the role of victim. The example of Argentina demonstrates that this vanguard is already sufficiently strong and resolute so that such an ignominy will not be repeated again.

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[1] Correspondence can be sent to: M. Duras, Impasse du Mont-Tonnere, 15. Paris 6, France.

APPENDIX # 4: The following article by Daniel Bensaid, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist League of France, is translated from the June 10, 1972 issue of Rouge

TERRORISM AND REVOLUTION

After the Attempt at Lod and the Arrest of Andreas Baader

Le Monde of May 26 entitled its editorial, "Bombs in Europe." Since then, the attempt on the airport at Lod, the arrest of Andreas Baader in Germany, one of the principal leaders of the Red Army Fraction, has occupied a select place in current events. The bourgeois press and the press of the reformist workers' movement yelp in unison and denounce the spectre of terrorism. The method is easy. Through the classic procedure of the amalgam, it permits them to get around the fundamental problem of revolutionary violence, which is posed with new acuteness at the moment when imperialist genocide is unleashed over Vietnam, when torture is systematized by the government in Brazil, and where even the French bourgeoisie begins to arm its killers of the SAC and CDR.

The Banditry of Yesterday and Today

Minority, even solitary, action cannot be judged outside its social context. In a small book, recently published by Maspero, Hobsbawn set forth the essential characteristics of social agrarian banditry. Honored bandits of peasant origin expresses profound popular resistance to the developments of feudalism, then to the penetration of capitalism in the countrysides. Representatives of a small peasantry, incapable of smashing the system which strangles them, these bandits are condemned to a certain solitariness. Their action is a desperate protest. The masses can recognize that in it, as is attested to by the success that their popular literature accords to Robin Hood as well as the haidoucs of Roumania, sketched by Panait Istrati. But they cannot directly participate in it.

On the other hand, it is not unusual to see bandits take a place in the revolutionary struggle when the proletariat comes to the head of a national or social struggle of emancipation. During the long march, Mao Tse-tung attracted and reeducated a certain number of them. In Russia, the collaboration between the Bolsheviks and the illegal groups of the Caucasus in the big expropriations from 1905 to 1914 is well-known. This is also true for the participation of the celebrated bandits of Aures in the Algerian revolution and the role played by Pancho Villa in the Mexican revolution.

The working class has not expressed its resistance to capitalism in the form of an urban banditry, analogous to agrarian banditry. If a certain sort of anarchism, that of the band at Bonnot, appears to be lodged in this tradition, it is also on the whole lodged in a political current which rather expresses a confrontation with the existing social order: the project of its destruction, even if this project borders on utopia. Rather than a workers' banditry, ascending capitalism developed gangsterism in the cities, which, far from challenging capitalist society, is installed in its midst, the better to nourish it. Agrarian banditry constitutes resistance to oppression; gangsterism is only a form of parasitism on capital, without popular sympathy.

What is emerging today, beyond the limited case of the Baader band, is a new form of social confrontation which already in part constitutes an international phenomenon. A series of social sections, made up of technicians, intellectuals and students, find themselves on the warpath on the line of division between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The workers' movements, dominated by Stalinist or social-democratic reformism, cannot permit them to express their radical break with the decaying society, with its hypocritical values and its legalized violence. This makes up a part of the despair which has developed into urban terrorism. The groups which embark on this type of action constitute microsocieties, living apart from official society, justifying their action by a revolutionary project which they do not have the forces to bring to realization for lack of real connections with the masses. The only link is that of exemplary action and not organized resistance to capitaliest exploitation.

If it's genuine, the document of the Tupamaros (MLN) published by the Uruguayan police confirms this hypothesis. "The MLN remains a subversive but non-revolutionary organization," declared this document of self-criticism. In other words, what is invollved is a movement of violent confrontation, assured of broad sympathy in the masses, but up to now incapable of organizing them for a decisive assault upon the bourgeois state power.

So far as we're concerned it's clear that instead of plunging into terrorism, the role of revolutionaries is first of all to show the responsibilities of capitalist society for its legal and organized violence, as well as the responsibility of a workers' movement which capitulates before its historical tasks.

Minority Violence and Mass Violence

But the problem does not stop there. If the denunciation of terrorism takes so prominent a place in the bourgeois press, that's because the minority violence of some groups demonstrates the vulnerability of a system that wants to be faultless. The workers give a daily example; by showing that a strike-stoppage in a workshop can paralyze a highly automatized factory. The Vietnamese give a like example on a very different scale by holding at bay the most formidable apparatus of destruction equipped by guidance mechanisms, giant bombers, electronic apparatuses. Skyjackings of airplanes also contribute to demonstrate that the more the capitalist system is centralized, organized and automatized, the more it is at the mercy of a grain of sand.

For revolutionaries, the problem that the action that the Baader band poses is not one for moralizing judgment, but rather that of the bonds which can be established between mass violence and minority violence. A first and particularly enlightening example is given us by factory struggles. It is clear that the occupation of a factory which mobilizes a mass of workers to control the means of production and eventually passes over to active administration has a far greater significance than the kidnapping of a supervisor or a boss. The occupation attacks the boss' power at its roots, the ownership of the means of production. Kidnapping only attacks the physical person of an easily-replaceable oppressor. But if the kidnapping expresses a genuine anger, if it is not presented as an end in itself, a pure revolt, but rather as a means of breaking up a passivity and resignation of the masses by beginning to overthrow its hierarchical idols, then kidnapping can be a correct initiative that the workers ought to defend and even, in certain cases, to promote.

One of the latest actions attributed by the police to the Baader band is an explosion of a bomb in the barracks of the American forces in Europe where three American soldiers were found dead. The question is not one of principle but of tactics. So far as we're concerned, we have not hesitated to resort to violent minority actions when the actions were tied up with mass activity. In December 1970, the Communist League supported, at the moment of the Burgos verdict, the attack of a group of militants against the Bank of Spain, but that was parallel with the mass campaign led on behalf of the Basques threatened with death. We have also led actions against General Ky when he visited Paris, against the U.S. consulate, an action which led to the indictment of Alain Krivine, and supported the action led by militants against the firms profiting from the U.S. war. But this was parallel with a systematic mass work within the framework of the FSI in particular on behalf of the Indochinese revolution. We have taken responsibility for the direct attack against the meeting of the New Order, March 9, 1971, at the Sports Palace, physically imposed our presence upon the hirelings of the CFT at Rennes, and uncovered the anti-crisis plans of the Minister of the Interior. But that was parallel with a campaign of systematic propaganda against the armed gangs of capital, particularly in the trade unions where we are active, particularly through the army committees created in 1970 for the defense of the drafted imprisoned soldiers.

As for ourselves, revolutionaries ought not to await the insurgence of the masses to oppose their own violence to the daily violence of capital. In strikes, we propose to workers who have learned from the assassinations of Overney, and Labroche, threatened by the CRS, to organize workers self-defense. To prove its possibility, we gave an example to the extent of our capabilities. In the same way, our Spanish comrades of the Revolutionary Communist League have popularized the idea of workers self-defense but from the beginning tied it up to assure themselves the protection of mass demonstrations as they did the first of May at Madrid with chains and Molotov cocktails.

We do not think that the way chosen by Baader and his comrades is one that leads to revolution. But we understand that they can think so, hard-pressed by the unleashing of imperialist violence and made desperate by the inertia of the reformist workers movement. That is why we defend them, first of all, against their bourgeois judges, as well as against the calumnies of the frightened bureaucrats.

---Daniel BENSAID

LA LUTTE OUVRIÈRE

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pratique. Je considère comme fondamentale la construction de partis dans chaque pays, sur ces principes généraux.

Question: Que pensez-vous du discours où Fidel Castro avançait la possibilité pour le régime militaire péruvien de guider la révolution péruvienne?

Il est très triste de voir Fidel soutenir le gouvernement bourgeois pro-impérialiste à cause de sa politique de développement du pays et de sa démagogie anti-impérialiste. C'est lè gouvernement qui a massacré des paysans, qui combat avec la bourgeoisie nationale et l'impérialisme les travailleurs péruviens, qui mène une politique de répression contre les étudiants qui résistent aux projets gouvernementaux livrant l'Université aux intérêts de l'impérialisme.

Au Pérou, tous les révolutionnaires sont contre le gouvernement, y compris naturellement les fidélistes.

Je me souviens d'un incident. A Chaupimoyo, je fus une fois réveillé par les cris d'une paysanne qui avait parcouru une longue distance pour venir de chez elle. Je pensais que quelque chose de terrible devait lui être arrivé. Aussi je lui demandai s'il y avait eu un accident. Elle répondit: "Non! J'ai entendu à la radio que notre cher Fidel a été assassiné!" Après, lorsque notre guérilla fut dans la jungle, on vibrait à l'écoute du soutien ardent de "Radio La Havane". Je suis certain que la camarade paysanne était également touchée dans sa cabane par "Radio La Havane".

Parce que nous devons toujours être sincères avec le peuple, il est très pénible de penser que cette camarade est à l'écoute de ce que "Radio La Havane" et Fidel disent sur le gouvernement péruvien. Cette camarade possède aujourd'hui les terres qu'elle a acquises au cours des luttes paysannes. Les gouvernements bourgeois n'ont pas osé reprendre les terres aux paysans. Le gouvernement actuel veut leur faire payer ces terres. Les paysans résistent, ils défendent leur réforme agraire contre la "réforme agraire" du gouvernement.

Pourquoi Fidel fait-il confiance à un gouvernement qui combat cette paysanne? Pourquoi ne fait-il pas confiance à la camarade qui combat pour sa terre et qui ravitaille, habille et protège sa guérilla qui lutte dans les montagnes? Fidel croit-il que seules les guérillas ou les armées bourgeoises sont capables de faire la révolution? Ce sont les masses du Pérou qui feront la révolution, camarade Fidel! Elles utiliseront les guérilleros comme l'une de leurs armes.

Question: Pensez-vous que la guérilla se poursuivra comme "Che" Guevara l'avait conçue ou que les révolutionnaires utiliseront d'autres tactiques dans le futur?

Les réponses aux questions précédentes indiquent clairement que nous ne concevons pas la guérilla comme une stratégie, mais seulement comme une tactique qui peut être utilisée à certains moments dans certaines conditions.

Développer la guérilla rurale comme une stratégie générale pour tous les pays d'Amérique latine a été une grande erreur de Fidel et de "Che". Ce fut une très pénible expérience pour l'Amérique latine. Heureusement, la dure réalité a obligé beaucoup de camarades fidélistes à reconsidérer leur position. Ils commencent à comprendre que le choix n'est pas opportunisme ou guérilla, mais opportunisme ou révolution.

Pierre Vallières enfin libéré

Pierre Vallières a finalement regagné sa liberté.

Vallières a toutefois passé 44 mois derrière les barreaux, même si jusqu'à date il n'a été condamné qu'à 37 mois de prison, dans des condamnations qui sont toujours en appel. Libéré sous caution, il y a toujours d'autres accusations qui pèsent contre lui.

La libération de Vallières, suite à celle de Gagnon il y a quelques mois, est une très grande victoire pour les droits civiques au Québec. Elle vient après une longue lutte, comportant nombre de pétitions, de manifestations, etc., et quatre jeûnes de la part de Vallières.

Cette victoire appelle au renforcement de la solidarité avec les autres prisonniers politiques toujours détenus, et avec les individus qui sont actuellement devant les tribunaux dans les procès politiques (dont Raymond Lemieux et Laurier Gravel).

La Lutte Ouvrière

[illegible]

Bolivie: grand soulèvement d'étudiants et de mineurs

par Jean Lemire

Des manifestations de masse des ouvriers et des étudiants boliviens ont marqué les coups et contre-coups d'état des factions militaires qui ont récemment déposé le Général Alfredo Ovando à la faveur du Général Juan Jose Torres.

Selon Malcolm Browne du **New York Times** du 10 octobre, "des étudiants marxistes et des guérillas urbaines ont ces derniers jours presque complètement détruit la police nationale. Ils ont imposés un règne de terreur sur la nation. Des étudiants armés de fusils, de pistolets et de mitraillettes ont occupé les postes de police à travers le pays. Ils ont mis tous les dossiers de police à feu et forcé des hauts fonctionnaires à démissionner... le terrorisme et l'assassinat sont devenus la règle."

L'agence Reuters écrit le 16 octobre que "Des travailleurs de gauche ont saisi hier soir (le 14 octobre) les mines d'étain. Ils ont expulsé les policiers et déclaré qu'ils vont réorganiser la société d'état minière."

Selon **Le Monde** du 13 octobre, le leadership de ce mouvement de masse revendiquait comme priorité la reconnaissance d'un "commandement politique" comprenant les ouvriers, étudiants, et partis de gauche, qui feraient partie d'un "parlement populaire."

"En somme, elles voulaient établir le pouvoir double réclamé par les trotskystes boliviens. Mais cette demande a effarouché tous les militaires, si bien qu'elle n'a pas pu être acceptée."

Ce soulèvement massif des ouvriers et étudiants démontre l'extrême instabilité de la société bolivienne. Au pouvoir, le Général Ovando avait proféré des menaces envers les énormes intérêts américains. Les États-Unis ont réagi à cette menace avec un appui au général droitier Miranda, qui a arraché le pouvoir au Général Ovando le 6 octobre. Mais, face à une division dans les forces armées et au danger d'une guerre civile, le général "de gauche" Torres a pris le pouvoir avec l'appui de la puissante confédération ouvrière bolivienne (COB). La COB a exigé l'application d'un programme de réforme, une suspension des paiements d'indemnité par le gouvernement à la Gulf Oil, la nationalisation des mines et l'instauration d'une politique étrangère indépendante incluant l'établissement de relations avec les États ouvriers.

Mais, le Général Torres, une fois au pouvoir, a refusé de se soumettre à ces demandes. En plus, il a formé un cabinet que les syndicalistes ont qualifié de "régime conservateur" avec une "orientation réactionnaire,".

Pour sa part, le département d'État à Washington, même si son favori a perdu la course, a fait une évaluation du nouveau régime, et il a décidé que ce n'était pas question de rompre les relations diplomatiques ou de suspendre "l'aide" économique et militaire. Un porte-parole du propriétaire majeur de Bolivie expliqua: "Le gouvernement Torres exerce le contrôle à la suite d'une acte constitutionnel des forces armées boliviennes."

Allende: marxiste?

Le Dr. Salvador Allende, qui se considère marxiste, a accédé au pouvoir après l'acceptation par le congrès chilien des résultats des élections présidentielles du 4 septembre. Allende dirige l'Unité Populaire, la coalition "pluraliste" des partis ouvriers et bourgeois qui a gagné l'élection. Mais parce qu'il n'avait pas obtenu une majorité absolue, la question devait être tranchée au congrès où les deux autres formations politiques sont majoritaires. Elles ont finalement cédé à l'élection d'Allende après une période d'anxiété marquée par une panique financière et une importante fuite de capitaux.

Le Chili est saigné à blanc par de grandes sociétés américaines de cuivre et d'autres investissements qui en 1968 valaient $964 millions. Face à un taux de profit de 27.3% dans les investissements miniers; le gouvernement précédent d'Eduardo Frei avait décidé d'acheter la grande société américaine d'Anaconda. Évidemment, Washington s'inquiétait de la meance d'extension des nationalisations des intérêts américains au Chili et de la portée de la victoire d'Allende ailleurs en Amérique latine

Mais, Allende avait vite rassuré ses critiques bourgeois. "Notre gouvernement ne sera pas un gouvernement marxiste, mais un gouvernement pluraliste, chrétien, démocrate et populaire" (**La Presse,** 8 septembre). Il a reçu également l'appui et même les félicitations du parti démocrat-chrétien, auquel il succédait. **Le Monde** du 23 octobre rapporte une déclaration assez claire d'Allende: "Nous n'allons pas faire un gouvernement marxiste. Cela n'a pas de sens."

Pablo Neruda du Parti Communiste chilien, élément composant important dans la coalition d'Allende, formule des assurances semblables: il n'y a "aucune raison de s'inquiéter. Nous n'avons jamais prétendu former un gouvernement socialiste le 4 novembre. Allende l'a dit: l'Unité Populaire est composée de six formations différentes dont les Radicaux, qui ont largement dominé la vie politique chilienne au cours des trente dernières années..."

libération

Argentine: enlèvement, luttes de masse

par Manon Léger

Dimanche, le 23 mai, M. Stanley Sylvester, consul de Grande-Bretagne à Rosario (Argentine) et un des directeurs de la Cie Swift de la Plata était enlevé par des guerilleros pour être relâché le 30 mai.

La Compagnie Swift de la Plata, est une filiale de la Deltec International, dont les capitaux sont nord-américains et allemands.

Selon le Monde du 26 mai, M. Sylvester fut enlevé "par des guerilleros de l'Armée révolutionnaire populaire (E.R.P.)". Le ERP expliquait plus tard dans un communiqué adressé au peuple que Sylvester avait été "détenu et mis à la disposition de la justice populaire" et s'insérait dans une "semaine en hommage à Luis Norberto Blanco". Blanco, étudiant de 15 ans avait été tué par la police le 21 mai 1969, lors des événements qui avaient secoué l'Argentine.

Le ERP affirmait à propos de Sylvester: "Le peuple a des ennemis. Ses ennemis sont les exploiteurs, les grandes sociétés nord-américaines et la dictature militaire, qui plongent notre pays dans la misère, l'injustice et l'oppression, et M. Sylvester est un de ces ennemis." (Le Monde, 26 mai)

L'Armée révolutionnaire du peuple demandé une rançon de $62.500. pour l'achat de produits alimentaires et de vêtements pour distribution dans les bidonvilles de Rosario, et réclamait de meilleures conditions de travail pour le personnel de Swift.

La direction de l'entreprise frigorifique versa la rançon et commenca la distribution de vivres et de vêtements le 30 mai.

Les dirigeants du ERP, rapportent dans un magazine de Buenos Aires, Cristianismo y Revolution (Christianisme et Révolution, janv.-fév.) que le ERP a été mis sur pied par le Parti Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (section argentine de la IVe Internationale).

Parallèlement à cet événement nous assistons en Argentine à une nouvelle montée des luttes. C'est ainsi qu'on pouvait lire dans le Monde du 3 juin que "trois cent mille professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire se sont mis en grève mardi, dans tout le pays, pour trois jours, afin d'appuyer leurs revendications de salaires."

YPF
FELIZ VIAJE
ESTACION DE
SARTA

Les ouvriers argentins de l'usine Renault à Cordoba lors d'un débrayage en mai 1969.

libération

Un point de vue marxiste sur les enlèvements

par A. Charbonneau

Un document intitulé "A propos d'un enlèvement" a été diffusé en mars/71, par un groupe de marxistes brésiliens, Ponto de Partida (Point de Départ). Le document, écrit en portugais, discute en détail si oui ou non, les enlèvements effectués par divers groupes de guérilléros en Amérique Latine ont réellement avancé la révolution latino-américaine. Bien que leur étude scientifique de cette tactique se limite à la lutte révolutionnaire au Brésil, l'analyse faite par le Ponto de Partida a une portée profonde pour les révolutionnaires au Québec.

La tactique d'enlèvement et le terrorisme en général est souvent justifié pour le Québec sous prétexte que la situation politique québécoise est semblable à celle de l'Amérique Latine; que les droits démocratiques n'existent pas plus ici qu'en Amérique Latine, et que le Québec est une colonie tout comme celles de l'Amérique Latine, n'ayant même pas son indépendance formelle. D'abord il faut dire que cette évaluation est erronée, tant en ce qui concerne le Québec que l'Amérique Latine.

Le continent latino-américain n'est pas un simple champ de bataille, divisé entre d'une part, les dictatures militaires dirigées par des agents de la CIA et d'autre part, les bandes armées de révolutionnaires. Les masses latino-américaines ne sont pas complètement politisées ni à 100% du côté des révolutionnaires, incapables d'agir uniquement à cause de la répression féroce. La classe dirigeante n'est pas mise au pied du mur par une situation révolutionnaire dans tous les pays du continent.

Peut-être surprenant, mais il existe plus de légalité bourgeoise dans quelques pays latino-américains (le Chili et la Bolivie) qu'au Québec et qu'aux Etats-Unis. A l'heure actuelle le seul pays qui connaît une situation clairement pré-révolutionnaire c'est la Bolivie. Malgré une instabilité économique générale, la classe dirigeante a soit stabilisé sa domination provisoirement, soit lancé une offensive contre les masses.

La question même de révolution armée ou pacifique est à nouveau posée par des éléments d'avant-garde, suite aux illusions créées par la récente victoire électorale du front populaire Allende au Chili. Toutes ces questions classiques de stratégie et de tactique révolutionnaires sont aujourd'hui sujets d'une discussion vive en Amérique Latine, y compris la question des fronts populaires, le travail dans les mouvements de masse, la construction des partis révolutionnaires, etc.

Le Document du groupe Ponto de Partida est une contribution importante à cette discussion. Les révolutionnaires brésiliens commencent en soulignant la nécessité d'une approche scientifique à la question générale des enlèvements et les concepts politiques qui les motivent. Ils expliquent que la question des enlèvements pour les marxistes n'est pas une question morale ou abstraite.

"Les marxistes ne s'opposent pas aux enlèvements en principe. Ce contre quoi nous argumentons, ce sont les conceptions derrière ces actions, car c'est ça l'importance de la question. Lorsque les Narodniks se sont armés de bombes et de fusils pour renverser l'autocratie russe, inconsciemment leurs projets excluaient les masses. L'histoire a tranché la question et les a condamnés."

Ils sont très critiques de la stratégie adoptée par la gauche brésilienne: "Nous ne pouvons pas cacher notre consternation envers le manque de perspective de ces révolutionnaires très courageux qui semblent avoir perdu leur orientation historique. C'est comme si le marxisme n'avait pas depuis longtemps démontré le rôle décisif des masses dans le progrès historique qu'un secteur de la gauche brésilienne essaie de substituer pour cette réalité la volonté de quelques douzaines d,hommes."

Le Ponto de Partida déclare qu'aucun des groupes engagés dans la "lutte armée" n'a été capable d'expliquer pourquoi les masses brésiliennes n'ont pas pu résister à l'emprisonnement des milliers de révolutionnaires et de syndicalistes. Le document explique comment la dictature militaire a été capable de le faire en développant un rapport de force provisoire qui lui est favorable, et comment les enlèvements sont inutiles à changer cette réalité. Selon le document, les enlèvements qui ont réussi à libérer 15 prisonniers politiques ont permis au gouvernement d'en emprisonner quelque 200 autres. Et les expériences récentes en Uruguay, au Canada et en Europe indiquent que la bourgeoisie à l'échelle internationale est prête à sacrifier les otages enlevés.

Le document se termine en exposant l'argument qui dit que les enlèvements sont un bon moyen de "propagande armée généralisée" et que les masses les accueillent. "A ceux qui déclarent que les masses applaudisent aux enlèvements, les marxistes disent, 'Merci beaucoup'. Enfin nous avons un aveu complet! Les masses sont réduites, de créateurs d'histoire, au statu de simple spectateurs."

Malgré l'existence de partisans du terrorisme, au Québec qui n'ont pas plu de confiance aux masses québécoises, le marxisme s'applique d'avantage ici. Seule la participation consciente et active des masses peut faire avancer la révolution socialiste.

"La tâche de l'avant-garde est de se fondre dans les masses et de se développer avec la vague montante, d'apparaître finalement comme noyau conscient de ce processus. Tout groupe aujourd'hui qui veut sauter cette préparation, subira encore une fois la condamnation de l'histoire."

CONFÉRENCE NATIONALE D'ÉDUCATION SOCIALISTE

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière et la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes tiendront le 30, 31 juillet et le 1er août une conférence d'éducation socialiste à Montréal.

La conférence traitera de questions théoriques et stratégiques que, confrontent à l'heure actuelle les militants indépendantistes et socialistes. Une participation nationale est prévue. La conférence est ouverte au public.

La conférence va s'ouvrir vendredi soir, le 30 juillet, à 20 heures avec un colloque sur "Comment gagner un Québec français".

Samedi à 11 heures, Jean Hérivault donnera un discours sur la stratégie pour la révolution mondiale. Dans l'après-midi les participants discuteront la dynamique du mouvement de libération de la femme, après une présentation de Colleen Lévis.

Samedi soir un party avec présentation d'une pièce de théâtre, chansons populaires, boisson et autres divertissements.

Dimanche à 11 heures les participants indépendantistes anglophones vont discuter "du rôle des anglophones québécois dans le mouvement indépendantiste". Le conférencier sera John Riddell.

L'après-midi sera consacré aux discussions en ateliers divers.

A 19 heures la conférence se terminera par un discours d'Alain Beiner sur "La voie en avant pour l'indépendance."

Les frais d'inscription seront de $3.00 pour ceux qui travaillent et $2.00 pour les étudiants et les chômeurs. La conférence se tiendra au 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine. Pour de plus amples renseignements, téléphoner à 861-3048.

libération

Vers le pouvoir ouvrier ?

L'assemblée populaire en Bolivie

Malgré l'appui du Parti Communiste Bolivien et des syndicats réformistes. Juan Torrès, dictateur militaire "réformiste" n'a pu faire des réformes pour satisfaire les besoins des masses, ni réussir à gagner leur appui.

A la mi-février, et en dépit d'un programme de réformes présenté par Torrès, les secteurs les plus combatifs et les plus avancés de la classe ouvrière entreprirent d'exercer un contrôle plus serré sur le gouvernement et jetèrent les bases d'une Assemblée Populaire (Assamblea Popular). dont les objectifs demeurent encore peu définis. L'Assemblée Populaire compte 220 membres — dont 60% sont élus par les travailleurs, 30% par le secteur agricole et les salariés de la classe moyenne, 10% par les partis politiques. Les réformistes, à la droite de l'Assemblée, prônent sa soumission au président Torrès et l'abandon de tous ses pouvoirs au président ; les centristes voudraient en faire un parlement bourgeois, qui contrôlerait l'exécutif ; et la gauche (dont le POR, Partido Obrero Revolucionario, section bolivienne de la Quatrième Internationale) milite pour en faire un organisme de discussions des problèmes et de leurs solutions et pour laisser le pouvoir armé aux masses.

L'article qui suit est tiré du journal *Combate* du POR (édition du 1-15 mai), tel qu'il a été repris par Intercontinental Press.

···Nous devons défendre l'Asamblea Popular contre ses ennemis de l'extérieur — ceux qui tentent de la minimiser ou qui refusent de la reconnaitre, comme le fait le président Torrès. Mais, en même temps, nous devons la défendre contre ses ennemis internes, qui veulent la diriger de façon bureaucratique et en faire une version populiste du parlement bourgeois.

Juan José Torrès, président de Bolivie.

L'Asamblea Popular ne peut avoir d'autre rôle que celui d'un organe à double pouvoir. C'est-à-dire, qu'elle doit non pas simplement débattre les questions et exercer une surveillance sur le fonctionnement du gouvernement, mais, aussi, qu'elle doit — comme expression du pouvoir des grandes masses de notre peuple — décider quels sont les problèmes fondamentaux qu'affrontent le pays et les travailleurs. L'Asamblea Popular doit devenir un gouvernement des travailleurs et des paysans ; et, pour y parvenir, nous devons combattre et à l'extérieur et à l'intérieur de l'organisme. En cours de processus, un instrument, politico-militaire, surgira, parallèle à l'Assemblée, qui pourra lui servir de pouvoir — dont il manque encore pour imposer ses décisions.

En conséquence, l'Asamblea Popular doit être enracinée dans le peuple, lui-même. Les délégués ou les représentants à l'Asamblea Popular ne peuvent être choisis par les dirigeants-bureaucrates actuels. Dans chaque secteur de la classe ouvrière — parmi les paysans, les étudiants et les collets-blancs — des assemblées doivent élire les membres de l'Asamblea Popular par vote direct. Et les membres des assemblées doivent avoir le droit de rappeler leurs représentants lorsque ceux-ci n'accomplissent pas leur devoir de révolutionnaire.

Mais, en même temps, l'Asamblea Popular doit être un forum, ouvert à tous les travailleurs, à tous les activistes révolutionnaires. Ce n'est que de cette façon que le peuple tout entier peut participer, exprimant ses craintes et ses volontés. De cette façon, le dynamisme révolutionnaire des masses poussera — telle la locomotive — l'Asamblea del Pueblo (l'Assemblée du Peuple) sur la voie de la révolution socialiste. Si ce lien du corps vivant des masses se rompt, l'Asamblea Popular deviendra un gouvernement bureaucratique de plus, une parlotte petite-bourgeoise de plus.

Nous devons assaillir de toutes parts l'Asamblea Popular. Nous devons lui infuser la chaleur révolutionnaire des masses, la force prolétarienne, et l'agressivité nécessaire, pour donner le coup de grâce au système capitaliste moribond. Si l'Asamblea Popular agit avec cette fermeté, elle sera le seul gouvernement que les masses reconnaîtront.

Le réformisme, non ; Le socialisme, oui !

L'armée bourgeoise, non ; Une armée révolutionnaire du peuple, oui !

Un parlement bourgeois, non ; Une assemblée du Peuple, oui !

libération

L'économie impérialiste en crise

par Ernest Mandel

Le président Nixon a annoncé le 15 août ses mesures pour rétablir la suprématie économique de l'impérialisme américain. Sa politique comprend un gel des prix et des salaires, des mesures fiscales qui favorisent les grandes monopoles, une surtaxe sur les impôts pour protéger l'industrie E-U de la concurrence étrangère, et l'inconvertibilité du dollar en or.

Pour les socialistes, ces événements sont une preuve de l'instabilité grandissante de l'économie capitaliste mondiale.

Ernest Mandel, économiste de renommée mondiale et théoricien trotskyste, analyse ici la vraie signification des mesures Nixon et de la chute du dollar. Nous avons légèrement abrégé son texte.

L'analyse marxiste de la nature de classe de l'Etat américain, de la nature fondamentale du système capitaliste, se trouvent confirmées une fois de plus. La bourgeoisie américaine défend ses intérêts de classe, et non l'idéal de liberté. Cette défense s'effectue aujourd'hui non seulement contre les Etats qui ont échappé au système impérialiste et contre la révolution coloniale qui menace d'entraîner quelques nouveaux pays dans la même voie.

Ernest Mandel

Elle frappe l'ennemi historiquement le plus redoutable de Wall Street : le prolétariat américain. Elle bouscule ses "alliés" les plus chers, à savoir les concurrents les plus efficaces : le Japon, l'Allemagne occidentale. La "liberté", y compris la fameuse liberté de commerce, est accrochée en passant, comme c'est toujours le cas lorsque le système fondé sur la propriété privée, c'est-à-dire la concurrence et l'anarchie, est secoué par une crise sérieuse.

Depuis trois ans et demi, on assiste à une lente agonie du système monétaire international fondé à Bretton Woods, sous le signe de la suprématie du dollar. Ce système essayait d'échapper au dilemme avec lequel l'économie capitaliste était confronté depuis le début de sa crise historique de déclin, la première guerre mondiale : Ou bien fidélité à l'étalon-or, et crises de surproduction de plus en plus catastrophiques : Ou bien abandon de l'étalon-or et repli vers le nationalisme économique, le protectionnisme et les devises inconvertibles, ce qui entraîne des conséquences non moins désastreuses pour le commerce capitaliste international.

La solution consistait à fonder les devises capitalistes à la fois sur l'or et sur le dollar, de conserver des taux de change stables, et d'instaurer des règles flexibles tolérant en fait une inflation permanente, surtout lorsque la crise de surproduction menaçait, pour éviter un nouveau 1929.

Aussi longtemps que l'inflation resta modérée, et que le dollar perdait son pouvoir d'achat à un rythme plus lent que les devises des autres puissances impérialistes importantes, le système fonctionna à la satisfaction de tous les impérialistes.

Les choses ont commencé à se gâter non pas parce qu'il y a inflation de dollars : celle-ci existe sans interruption depuis plus de trente ans. Elles ont commencé à se gâter lorsque la perte de pouvoir d'achat du dollar a dépassé celle de quelques autres devises, lorsque les avoirs en dollars du reste du monde ont crû sans proportion commune avec le stock d'or des Etats-Unis, en rapide déclin.

A partir de ce moment, il était clair que la dévaluation du dollar interviendrait tôt ou tard. La bourgeoisie internationale — y compris une bonne partie de la grande bourgeoisie américaine, directement par ses sociétés multinationales, ou par personnes interposées — a commencé à se couvrir contre cette éventualité. En langage clair cela s'appelle spéculer sur une dévaluation du dollar. Et dans une économie de marché, lorsque beaucoup de capitalistes se couvrent contre une éventualité, ils la précipitent à coup sûr.

Le véritable changement décidé le 15 août réside dans la dévaluation de fait du dollar, non par rapport à l'or mais par rapport aux autres devises du monde impérialiste. La décision de Nixon de laisser "flotter" le dollar signifie en réalité la décision de déprécier le dollar par rapport à ces devises. Car une fois le libre jeu de l'offre et de la demande instauré sur le marché des changes, ce résultat est inévitable dans l'état actuel de l'inflation américaine, comparée à celle des principaux concurrents des Etats-Unis.

Dans beaucoup de milieux capitalistes européens — à commencer par les milieux gaullistes français — on flétrit la dévaluation du dollar comme un mauvais coup contre le commerce de l'Europe et du Japon. Il est certain que le but immédiat de Nixon gagne sur le compte "marchandises," il le perd sur le compte "capitaux". Dorénavant, il lui faudra plus de dollars pour acheter une usine en Europe. Et un capitaliste allemand ou japonais pourra acheter une usine aux Etats-Unis avec moins de DM et moins de *yen*.

Voilà pourquoi l'impérialisme américain a si longtemps résisté contre la tentation de dévaluer.

Le fait qu'après vingt années d'expansion du commerce capitaliste international — qui, faut-il le rappeler, est de nature protectionniste : favoriser les exportations américaines ; rendre plus difficiles les importations aux Etats-Unis.

Mais ces mêmes milieux oublient qu'en régime capitaliste, la monnaie n'est pas seulement moyen d'échange mais encore moyen de paiement. Les dollars ne servent pas seulement au commerce mondial ; ils servent aussi à l'exportation des capitaux.

Ce que le capitalisme américain a conduit celui-ci seulement en 1965 à l'équivalent des exportations par tête d'habitant de l'année 1913 — on soit de nouveau en pleine anarchie, insécurité et désordre, en dit long sur la crise historique insolvable qui secoue ce système qui se survit par la faute des directions ouvrières traditionnelles en Occident !

Marx se plaisait à répéter que les phénomènes monétaires n'étaient que le reflet de la vie économique, et que ceux qui voulaient expliquer les crises essentiellement par ces phénomènes, prenaient l'apparence pour la réalité. Cette constatation reste plus valable que jamais.

Si le dollar se déprécit, si le système monétaire international échafaudé à Bretton Woods s'effondre, ce n'est pas avant tout parce qu'il y a des spéculateurs méchants, des créditeurs trop imprudents ou des banquiers trop prudents (surtout chez le voisin !).

C'est parce que le système économique est malade dans son ensemble.

La cause fondamentale de l'inflation, c'est l'endettement des Etats, des firmes et des consommateurs. Cet en-

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dettement ne cesse de se gonfler depuis 1940 (celui des Etats depuis 1914). Sans cet endettement et cette inflation permanente, l'expansion, le plein emploi, la croissance économique, sont dveenus impossibles dans le capitalisme en déclin. L'économie d'armements est la base de l'endettement des Etats. Le crédit hypertrophié est la base de l'endettement des privés.

Depuis trente ans, la "prospérité" néocapitaliste vogue sur un océan de crédit. Les vagues de cette inflation devaient tôt ou tard engloutir le navire. La chute du dollar révèle que les "stabilisateurs" construits avec tant de peine ne résistent plus au choc de ces vagues de plus en plus puissantes.

Pour qu'il y ait prospérité capitaliste, il faut deux conditions : un taux de profit en hausse et un marché en expansion. La logique du capitalisme veut que ces conditions ne coïncident qu'à certains moments ; leur coïncidence temporaire crée elle-même les conditions de leur divorce ultérieur. Cela se produit momentanément au cours de chaque cycle. Cela se produit, périodiquement, à une échelle plus générale et plus durable. A partir de 1966, nous sommes entrés en une longue période où cette coïncidence est de plus en plus sapée.

Pour sortir de la récession qui frappe depuis deux ans l'économie américaine, Nixon détaxe les bénéfices et les investissements industriels et les banquiers, ainsi que pas mal de politiciens 'libéraux', applaudissent : ce qui est bon pour le profit est bon pour les Etats-Unis. Qui donc oserait penser autrement au paradis de la "libre entreprise" ?

Les syndicalistes ultra-modérés comme George Meany protestent sous la pression de la base. Où est le blocage des dividendes et des profits non-distribués, pour faire contre-poids au blocage des salaires ? Où sont les garanties contre les hausses des prix ? Où est la compensation des pertes de pouvoir d'achat *passées,* déjà subies par les salariés ?

Mais ces protestations ne signifient pas seulement que les travailleurs américains vont se battre plus durement pour défendre leur *standing* menacé par l'inflation, les impôts, les conséquences de la guerre du Vietnam et les répercussions de la façon dont le patronat américain veut riposter à la concurrence internationale. Elles ne signifient pas seulement des grèves plus dures et plus longues. Elles impliquent surtout un nouveau rétrécissement du marché intérieur américain (les réductions de dépenses publiques et le renchérissement des produits importés agissent dans le même sens de réduire le pouvoir d'achat global en pleine récession). Comment éponger dans ces conditions le chômage ? D'ailleurs, le patronat ne désire-t-il pas au fond conserver ce chômage pour peser sur les salaires ? Mais comment dans ces conditions assurer une véritable relance de l'économie (et subsidiairement : assurer la réélection de M. Nixon l'an prochain) ?

Il est exclu que l'inflation s'arrête. Une récession qui menace de se généraliser, le chômage qui s'étend, une capacité excédentaire qui frappe une demi-douzaine d'industries-clés ne se combineraient avec un arrêt de l'inflation qu'au prix d'un nouveau 1929, prix qu'aucune puissance impérialiste n'est prête à payer.

Mais l'inflation persistante jointe à la concurrence internationale exacerbée, cela signifie une dégradation du système monétaire international qu'on ne pourra plus arrêter. Cela signifie l'impossibilité d'un accord inter-impérialiste pour une nouvelle monnaie de réserve internationale suffisante, et donc un risque certain de ralentissement de la croissance du commerce international, donc renversement accentué de la tendance expansionniste 1945-1965.

Avec l'ébranlement du dollar, ce n'est ni seulement un symbole ni seulement un système monétaire qui se trouvent dévalués. C'est l'ensemble du système capitaliste international qui sort d'un long cycle d'expansion, pour entrer dans un long cycle à croissance beaucoup plus lente, à crises beaucoup plus multiples.

En fait, depuis la récession allemande de 1966-67, l'économie capitaliste internationale n'a plus vécu une seule année de prospérité universelle. Il n'y a pas eu une seule année sans récession ou crise monétaire quelque part. Le carrousel ne fait que commencer. Les longs cycles durent en moyenne 20 à 25 ans . . . Si les travailleurs le veulent, ils se donnent une nouvelle direction révolutionnaire à la hauteur de cette tâche, ce cycle peut déboucher sur la victoire du socialisme en Occident. Si par manque de direction adéquate leurs luttes s'achèvent dans des défaites, alors le capitalisme cherchera à résoudre sa crise structurelle sur leurs os et dans le sang, comme il l'a fait au cours des années '30 et '40. La crise qui a commencé est donc promesse et avertissement.

Les mesures économiques de Nixon secouent l'économie capitaliste mondiale. Ici le tumulte atteint la bourse de Tokyo.

libération

Bolivie: l'armée brise la résistance ouvrière

par LOUIS PAQUETTE

La prise du pouvoir le 22 août en Bolivie par les forces de droite de l'armée, dirigées par Hugo Banzer Suarez, signifie une défaite majeure pour les ouvriers et les paysans du pays.

Seulement les ouvriers et les étudiants ont combattu contre le coup d'Etat. L'ancien président Torrès a fait appel aux ouvriers au dernier moment pour qu'ils le défendent. Mais les ouvriers n'ont reçu aucune direction de leurs organisations de masse.

"Armée trop tard d'armes démodées, la milice populaire n'a pas pu résister contre les chars d'assaut": telle a été l'opinion du journal Le Monde.

Malgré cela les forces populaires ont offert une résistance héroique. On rapporte au moins 100 morts et 600 blessés.

Les militants du POR ont été parmi les dirigeants de la bataille de rue. Le POR, organisation trotskyste en Bolivie, forme la section bolivienne de la Quatrième Internationale. Quarante de ses militants sont morts au combat.

Le régime Torrès, issu en octobre 1970 d'une scission de l'armée, était un gouvernement bonapartiste de gauche, qui se balançait entre les masses et l'aile droite de la classe dirigeante. Torrès ne pouvait plus survivre longtemps au moment où l'armée resserrait finalement ses rangs face à la montée des luttes de masse.

Sous le régime Torrès les ouvriers ont pu cependant gagner certaines concessions et rétablir certains droits démocratiques. La formation de l'Assemblée populaire, issue de la montée des luttes de masse qui a commencé en octobre, a été d'une grande signification.

L'existence même de l'Assemblée, composée de délégués de la population laborieuse, a posé la question du pouvoir ouvrier: quelle classe sociale allait gouverner la Bolivie. Voilà ce qui faisait tellement peur aux forces réactionnaires.

Malgré cela l'Assemblée montrait de grandes faiblesses. Elle fut ajournée pour deux mois en juin, bien que les préparatifs de l'armée pour son coup d'Etat étaient déjà bien connus.

Les forces révolutionnaires n'étaient pas assez fortes pour gagner la direction de l'Assemblée et pour l'aider à devenir un organe de double pouvoir. C'est les réformistes qui ont gardé le contrôle des séances.

La représentation des paysans, qui forment les deux tiers de la population, était faible dans l'assemblée. Le POR ne pouvait pas obtenir la représentation directe accordée aux partis réformistes de la classe ouvrière.

Le coup en Bolivie a une signification continentale. Il a montré les faiblesses des régimes "réformistes" du Pérou et du Chili, et il a beaucoup augmenté les pressions contre ces régimes.

Les masses boliviennes subissent maintenant les attaques féroces du nouveau gouvernement. L'université de La Paz a été bombardée par des chars d'assaut et des avions. Les partis de gauche sont interdits. Toute réunion de plus de quatre personnes est interdite.

Mais le dictateur Suarez ne se montrera pas plus capable que ses prédécesseurs pour rétablir la stabilité ni à résister à la remontée inévitable des luttes héroiques de la classe ouvrière bolivienne.

Les mineurs boliviens arrivent à La Paz, les armes à la main, pour combattre le coup d'Etat.

Déclaration de la LSO sur l'enlèvement en Argentine

(Nous publions ici une déclaration en date du 4 avril 1972 du Comité politique de la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist [illegible]on -- NDLR).

Le président de la Fiat-Argentine a été enlevé le 21 mars par un commando de l'ERP (Ejerdito Revolucionario del Peublo -- Armée Révolutionnaire du Peuple). Cette action a suscité un large intérêt à travers le monde, y compris au Canada où une action parallèle en plusieurs points fut exécutée en octobre 1970 sous la bannière du Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ).

La violence en Argentine aujourd'hui est clairement causée par les mesures répressives adoptées contre les masses par une dictature militaire.

L'Argentine est sous la domination militaire presque sans interruption depuis 1955. La junte militaire actuelle du général Alejandro Lanusse entasse les prisons de prisonniers politiques. Des militants syndicaux et étudiants ont été enlevés et assassinés clandestinement par la police.

Une campagne internationale de solidarité se construit actuellement pour protester contre la torture et la répression en Argentine, et pour aider les victimes.

Sous l'influence des stratégies de guerrilla telles que celles appliquées dans d'autres endroits en Amérique latine par Che Guevara en Bolivie ou les Tupamaros en Uruguay, plusieurs militants révolutionnaires en Argentine ont misé leur espoir dans des actions d'éclats déclenchées par de petits groupes. Selon eux, de telles actions peuvent servir d'étincelles en poussant les masses à renverser la dictature et à prendre le pouvoir dans leurs propres mains.

Une théorie semblable avait motivé le FLQ à enlever Pierre La[illegible]e et James Cross au Québec en octobre 1970.

Les deux enlèvements, exécutés au [illegible]om du FLQ par une poignée de pe[illegible]nes, furent considérés par plusieurs dans la gauche québécoise comme l'étincelle qui déclencherait un soulèvement révolutionnaire au Québec. Pendant les premiers jours suivant les enlèvements la revendication du FLQ -- la libération des prisonniers politiques -- a connu une sympathie importante. Mais la nature même de ces actions a déterminé leur but -- non pas la participation ou la mobilisation des masses, mais seulement leurs applaudissements.

A ce moment-là, la LSO/LSA avait affirmé que: "Le FLQ a substitué les actions isolées d'une petite poignée de personnes pour l'action polit[illegible] de masse de la classe ouvri[illegible]e, la seule voie à la libération du Québec."

En réduisant les masses au rôle de spectateurs, les enlèvements avaient créé les conditions pour une vague massive de répression gouvernementale. Le Québec a été occupé par 7,000 soldats; les libertés civiles ont été suspendues; et plus de 500 personnes ont été emprisonnées, y compris des dirigeants de la LSO/LSA.

Ce n'a été qu'après des mois de campagnes concertées à travers le pays et à l'échelle mondiale en défense des libertés civiles et pour exposer les procès de sédition du gouvernement que le mouvement de masse s'est rétabli. Le mouvement de masse s'est rétabli à travers une série d'actions de masse autour de la défense des prisonniers politiques et à travers des manifestations indépendantistes qui exprimaient une conscience nationaliste s'approfondissant des Québécois.

Cette expérience fut réellement "exemplaire" pour tout le mouvement nationaliste et pour toute la gauche québécoise et canadienne.

L'action de l'ERP, tout comme celle des partisans du FLQ au Québec, réduit les masses au rôle de spectateurs. Cette action évite le travail conséquent nécessaire d'impliquer les masses dans des luttes autour d'un programme lié aux besoins économiques, sociaux et politiques les plus urgents.

Notre expérience récente au Québec nous convainc tout au plus, que plutôt que d'impliquer les forces révolutionnaires dans des luttes de masse, de telles actions écartent les révolutionnaires des masses, constituant ainsi un obstacle sur la voie vers la construction d'un parti révolutionnaire. La tâche en Argentine, tout comme au Québec et au Canada, c'est la construction d'un tel parti [illegible]ble de diriger la classe ouvrière dans la lutte pour le pouvoir.

libération

La lutte contre la dictature argentine

par MANON LEGER

Dans le Québec-Presse du 23 avril, un article sur l'Argentine affichait comme manchette "Les gauchistes préfèrent la dictature militaire à une fausse démocratie". Est-ce bien la réalité? Pour répondre à cet argument, il est essentiel de parler en premier lieu de la situation existante en Argentine. On s'imagine souvent la dictature militaire Lanusse, comme un régime ne connaissant aucune opposition de masse.

Retraçons ici les évènements principaux qui ont marqué le début de cette année. Du 29 février au 2 mars, suite à une majoration des prix de 25%, le pays était secoué par une grève générale protestant la baisse du niveau de vie des ouvriers. Un mois plus tard, un nouveau taux d'électricité (une hausse de 110%) prit effet à Mendoza, ville regroupant quelques 250,000 habitants. Des manifestations de rues s'en suivirent. Après une intervention brutale de la police, la CGT (Confederacion General del Trabajo -- Confédération Générale du Travail) lança un appel à la grève générale. Une grève de 24 heures paralysa toute l'industrie. Des grèves se déclenchèrent à Cordoba et à San Juan à l'appui des grévistes de Mendoza. Afin de calmer le peuple, le Général Gomez devait annoncer une remise de la collecte des comptes d'électricité. Et finalement le 7 avril, le général Lanusse annonçait la suspension dans tout le pays des nouveaux tarifs de l'électricité.

Les événements cités ci-hauts démontrent en effet que les masses loin d'être soumises et dupes ne cessent d'afficher une résistance farouche à toute nouvelle attaque du régime Lanusse. Et ces luttes entreprises par le mouvement ouvrier, à travers les manifestations de rue, les grèves, loin de s'être soldées par des échecs, consolidèrent ce dernier forçant le régime militaire à céder du terrain.

Le régime se trouve de plus divisé en son sein, ce qui ne lui facilite pas les choses. L'aile droite de l'armée s'oppose à sa direction actuelle l'accusant d'être trop souple, et voit d'un très mauvais oeil les élections prévues pour 1973.

L'avènement de ces élections est très important alors qu'elles fourniront aux forces socialistes, et au mouvement ouvrier l'opportunité d'avancer un programme pour défendre les intérêts des masses opprimées puisque le 1er avril, Alejandro Lanusse réhabilitait tous les partis politiques dissous en 1966 déclarant que "tous les biens qui leur avaient été confisqués leur seraient restitués". La clandestinité rendait très difficile le travail des socialistes parmi les masses, mais la levée partielle de l'illégalité leur permet maintenant d'intervenir parmi les masses avec une mesure de légitimité.

Ces élections bien qu'importantes demeurent toutefois tronquées et sont sujettes à nombre de restrictions et de règlements que Lanusse imposera sur les partis en liste.

Juan Peron est maintenant de retour au pays et ceci a suscité un vif intérêt parmi les masses. Juan Peron qui avait été à la tête du gouvernement argentin pendant 10 ans, de 1945 à 1955, avait été déposé de son poste en 1955 et quitta le pays. Des accusations de trahison furent portées contre lui. Juan Peron a finalement été réhabilité par Lanusse en 1971. Bien que Peron avait été un dictateur à la main de fer, il jouissait et jouit encore de l'appui d'un grand secteur des masses travailleuses. Donc son retour a provoqué de nouveaux espoirs parmi les masses, malgré son attitude anti-ouvrière au cours des récents événements à Mendoza, où il a demandé aux ouvriers de mettre fin à leur mouvement de grève et d'appuyer le GAN (Grand Accord National).

Le GAN est le projet de la dictature militaire visant à gagner l'appui national à son programme de 'paix des classes'. Il s'agit d'un front regroupant autant les forces capitalistes et droitières que certaines forces conciliatrices du mouvement ouvrier.

Les masses d'Argentine n'ont, on peut le constater, nullement rejeté les élections qui viennent mais au contraire y fondent beaucoup d'espoir. Les socia-

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Ci-haut, une manifestation à Cordoba lors de la grève générale du mars 1971. Ci-bas, des pancartes syndicales à l'appui de l'ancien dictateur Peron affichées à Buenos Aires.

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libération

listes conscients de cette réalité voient dans les élections de 1973, une plateforme leur permettant d'avancer un programme de combat, jouissant d'une audience telle que n'en a jamais connu le mouvement ouvrier argentin. Les forces révolutionnaires se doivent de présenter une alternative programmatique réelle aux masses afin de démasquer l'incapacité du GAN d'établir une véritable démocratie et de mettre fin à l'inflation effrénée que connait le pays.

Refuser une telle opportunité signifie tourner le dos au mouvement ouvrier, l'abandonnant aux mains d'une direction syndicale bureaucratique et corrompue prête à suivre un Peron qui ne fera que perpétuer l'exploitation des masses. Se tourner vers des actions terroristes isolées, dans la situation actuelle alors que les masses sont en mouvement et cherchent une nouvelle direction, va dans le sens inverse de gagner les masses et de construire un parti socialiste révolutionnaire de masse capable de libérer le pays de l'emprise impérialiste. Les actes terroristes apparaissent comme actes de violence, comme des actes anti-sociaux et n'exposent nullement la véritable violence, celle poursuivie par la classe dirigeante et son régime militaire. De plus elle aide la dictature à faire reposer le blâme sur les forces de

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gauche se lavant ainsi les mains de ses propres crimes.

La tâche des révolutionnaires est d'isoler politiquement la dictature militaire en aidant les masses à comprendre l'injustice et les crimes de celle-ci. En utilisant les élections, les socialistes disent non à la dictature militaire, non à la fausse démocratie. Ils utilisent cette tribune pour mettre de l'avant des revendications permettant le processus d'éducation et de mobilisation des masses contre la dictature et contre l'exploitation capitaliste en Argentine.

Bien loin de "préférer la dictature militaire à une fausse démocratie" comme le prétend l'article de Québec-Presse, les socialistes accueillent volontiers toute concession cédée par le régime sous la pression des masses. Les socialistes savent en profiter pour renforcer la confiance des masses dans leur force, les dirigeant de l'avant dans une lutte intransigeante et indépendante pour la démocratie complète et pour le socialisme.

Une féministe et socialiste des EU visite l'Argentine

Linda Jenness du Socialist Workers Party américain a été chaleureusement accueillie à l'aéroport par 200 jeunes partisans.

par JEAN-PIERRE LALONDE

Linda Jenness, candidate socialiste aux élections présidentielles américaines est arrivée le 21 mai en Argentine au cours d'une tournée à travers l'Amérique latine. Jenness est la candidate présidentielle du Socialist Workers Party, l'organisation trotskyste aux Etats-Unis.

Suite à une conférence de presse accordée à environ 25 journalistes, des journaux dans plusieurs villes argentines, y compris quatre quotidiens, ont publié des articles sur la tournée de Jenness. Elle fut interviewée pendant 10 minutes à la télévision nationale surtout au sujet de ses idées féministes. Jennesse a également paru pendant 30 minutes sur un poste de télévision local dans la ville de Tucuman.

Apart les invitations à parler pour des groupes de libération de la femmes qui viennent de se former en Argentine, Jenness a adressé la parole aux réunions organisées par divers groupes socialistes et radicaux dans les universités à Tucuman, Rosario, Mar del Plata, Bahia Blanca et à Buenos Aires.

La salle était comble à Buenos Aires le 26 mai où plus de 3,000 sont venues écouter Jenness qui a dénoncé l'agression de son pays en Indochine. Environ 1,000 personnes sont venues l'écouter à chacune des réunions aux universités à Mar del Plata, Rosario, et à Tucuman. A Bahia Blanca, Jenness a adressé la parole à 200 personnes, y compris plusieurs socialistes plus âgés.

Linda Jenness, qui s'est identifiée dans la revue ASI de Buenos Aires en tant que "socialiste-révolutionnaire ... idéologiquement en accord avec la Quatrième Internationale," a été invitée en Argentine par le Parti Socialiste argentin qui publie l'hebdomadaire Avanzada Socialista (journal lancé suite à une fusion avec La Verdad).

La foule de 3,000 personnes à la conférence de Linda Jenness à Buenos Aires. Ses propos contre l'agression américaine en Indochine était vivement accueillis.

libération

Massacre en Argentine!

par A. Charbonneau

Seize prisonniers politiques argentins furent abattus de sang froid le 22 août dernier à la base aeronavale de Trelew, ville qui se trouve au coeur de l'Argentine. Les 16 jeunes révolutionnaires, adversaires de la dictature militaire de Lanusse, de pair avec 3 autres prisonniers politiques, se sont rendus pacifiquement à l'armee (le 15 août) en déposant leurs armes à l'aeroport de Trelew alors qu'ils tentaient de s'emparer d'un avion pour fuir le pays.

Ce massacre, froidement calcule par le president general Alejandro Lanusse, a suivi l'evasion du 15 août du penitentier de Rawson (situe a environ 15 milles de Trelew) de 25 prisonniers politiques membres de 3 organisations de guerilla: l'ERP (l'Armée revolutionnaire du peuple, dirigee par le Parti revolutionnaire des travailleurs); les Montoneros (une organisation peroniste armee); et le FAP (Forces armées peronistes). Six des 25 evades ont reussi à s'emparer d'un avion de la Compagnie Austral à l'aeroport de Trelew plus tôt dans la journee du 15 août pour le detourner vers le Chili, où ils ont pû avec l'aide d'un mouvement de protestation international ainsi que des manifestations de masse au Chili même, obliger le president Salvador Allende à refuser la demande d'extradition du gouvernement argentin pour leur permettre de repartir à La Havane à bord d'un avion fourni par le gouvernement cubain.

Le second groupe des 19 évades de Rawson est arrive à l'aeroport un peu plus tard où il fut rapidement encercle par l'infanterie de marine et les forces de police. Les 19 décidèrent de se rendre en presence d'un juge d'instruction, d'un medecin et de nombreux journalistes, garants de leur integrite physique, apres quoi ils furent amenes à la base de Trelew, et maintenus isoles. Aucun des avocats ne put s'entretenir avec les prisonniers, et deja dans les differents milieux argentins on craignait pour leur vie.

Au sujet des evenements du 15 août un hebdomadaire de Buenos Aires cita un officier de marine: "Je suis deçu. Nous allions les liquider tous. S'ils avaient ose tirer une seule balle, on n'en aurait pas laisser un seul vivant..." Aux premières heures du 22 août les militaires ont eu satisfaction et les craintes furent tragiquement confirmees quand on apprit l'assassinat de la plupart des prisonniers de la base aeronavale: seize morts et trois blesses graves.

Dès que la nouvelle de l'assassinat fut connue il y eut à travers tout le pays des mouvements de protestation. Des universites à travers l'Argentine, la principale federation ouvrière — la CGT (Confederacion General del Trabajo) — de même que le mouvement massif des partisans de l'ancien président Peron, exilé en Espagne, participaient au mouvement de protestation.

Dans les principales villes d'Argentine, Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Rosario, Tucuman, il y eut des manifestations, des emeutes, et des centaines d'arrestations. L'indignation de la base du mouvement peroniste avait même oblige la direction à rendre hommage aux guerilleros tombes et à prêter leur propre local pour la veillee funèbre. Ce fut dans ces conditions que la police decida d'attaquer les locaux où avait lieu la veillee funèbre, utilisant des blindes pour les investir, afin d'emporter les cercueils et de les inhumer secrètement. Dans les autres villes du pays, les pressions se multiplièrent et les familles reçurent toutes l'ordre d'enterrer les corps dans les plus courts délais et dans la plus stricte intimité.

libération

France: essor de la Ligue Communiste

par JEAN HERIVAULT

A la fin de l'année 1972, avait lieu le 3e congrès de la Ligue Communiste (section française de la Quatrième Internationale). Ce fut de beaucoup le congrès le plus important depuis la fondation de la Ligue en 1968. Deux cent quatre vingt-sept délégués, représentant 80 villes et 18 sections ont synthétisé une discussion qui a été activement préparée pendant plusieurs mois qui ont précédé le congrès.

Depuis le tout début de son existence, et plus particulièrement ces deux dernières années, la Ligue Communiste joue un rôle important dans la gauche. La Ligue, qui compte maintenant 2,500 membres dans ses rangs et organise le même nombre de sympathisants, s'est imposée à travers la défense de la révolution vietnamienne, dans les luttes étudiantes, par son travail dans l'armée et dans bien d'autres domaines de la lutte de classes, comme étant une des principales organisations révolutionnaires à la gauche du Parti Communiste réformiste, et capable de canaliser et d'exprimer ce large courant de radicalisation qui s'est manifesté depuis mai '68.

L'élaboration d'une stratégie révolutionnaire de construction de parti, qui fut discutée les deux premiers jours, était l'une des deux principales questions sur lesquelles ce troisième congrès devait se prononcer. La seconde partie du congrès a été presqu'entièrement consacrée à la discussion sur la résolution politique, dont la question centrale, la participation de la Ligue Communiste aux élections législatives qui auront lieu en mars prochain, a été vivement débattue.

En raison de la conjoncture politique dans laquelle elles s'insèrent, les élections législatives, constituent un enjeu de première importance. La crise que connait actuellement la bourgeoisie française, qui se réflète avant tout dans ses partis traditionnels, est particulièrement mise en évidence dans ces élections. C'est dans ce cadre que le congrès adopta la recommendation du Comité central sortant, de s'engager dans cette campagne.

La Ligue Communiste présentera 120 candidats. Avec l'accord passé avec une autre organisation révolutionnaire "Lutte Ouvrière", c'est 300 circonscriptions et 80 départements, où les révolutionnaires expliqueront que c'est le renversement du système capitaliste qui pourra seul mettre fin à l'exploitation des travailleurs. Au deuxième tour la Ligue recommendera de voter pour l'Union de la Gauche (UG).

Depuis le lancement de la campagne, la Ligue s'est déjà bien servie de cette tribune que sont les campagnes électorales.

C'est dans le cadre de ces possibilités que, Alain Krivine, dirigeant de la Ligue Communiste et candidat à la présidence de la République en 1969, participa à l'émission de la télévision française "A armes égales", le 13 décembre dernier. Pendant 2 heures, face à un représentant du du gouvernement Pompidou, Alain Krivine, avec chiffres, faits et dossiers à l'appui, dénonça le capitalisme français, au nom des millions de travailleurs qui en sont victimes, et traça le programme des révolutionnaires dans ces élections législatives. C'est également au cours de cette émission, qui est écoutée par des dizaines de millions de français, que Krivine appela à l'indépendance des colonies françaises comme la Guadeloupe, la Martinique et la Réunion.

Depuis le lancement de la campagne électorale, la Ligue Communiste organise, plusieurs fois par semaine, des assemblées dans la plupart des régions de France. La plus impressionante rassembla, au Palais de Sports de Paris, 7,000 personnes venues de toute la région parisienne manifester leur soutien politique à la campagne menée par la Ligue.

Tout comme les discussions du troisième congrès l'ont clairement démontré, l'intéret porté à la campagne de la Ligue Communiste marque très nettement les préoccupations et les problèmes communs d'une génération née de la vague de montée révolutionnaire en mai '68

libération

La Ligue Communiste interdite en France:

Pompidou se lance contre les révolutionnaires!

par MANON LEGER

Raymond Marcellin, ministre de l'Intérieur français faisait approuver par le conseil des ministres du 28 juin dernier, la dissolution de la Ligue Communiste (LC), section française de la Quatrième Internationale trotskyste.

Alain Krivine, secrétaire général de la LC était interpellé à son domicile le 29 juin par la police judiciaire et conduit Quai des Orfèvres pour interrogatoire. Krivine, gardé à vue, est maintenant sous arrêt, inculpé d'infractions à l'article 314 du code pénal, à savoir la fameuse "loi anti-casseurs".

Egalement emprisonné est Pierre Rousset, un membre du Comité Central de la LC. Son crime est celui d'avoir été présent au local de la LC, le 22 juin, au moment où les policiers procédaient au saccage des locaux.

La répression gouvernementale s'est toutefois heurtée à une opposition très large regroupant nombre de personnalités importantes et d'organisations politiques se déclarant contre l'interdiction de la LC, et pour la libération immédiate de Krivine et Rousset. Les partis ouvriers de masse, le Parti Socialiste et le Parti Communiste, ont publié des déclarations en appui aux droits démocratiques de la LC et ont passé à organiser la défense dans le cadre d'un comité national contre la dissolution de la LC.

Parallèlement à la campagne de défense en France, des actions contre la dissolution de la LC ont eu lieu dans toute une série de pays en Europe, en Amérique du Nord, etc. A Montréal, une ligne de piquetage a été organisée le 29 juin, devant le consulat français, suite à l'appel de la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes et le Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire.

Les trotskystes de la LSO et de la LJS travaillent aujourd'hui avec d'autres forces syndicales et de gauche, en vue de constituer un comité de défense le plus large possible, qui poursuivra la campagne pour l'abrogation du décret de dissolution de la Ligue Communiste; pour la levée de toutes les inculpations des militants de la LC et de tous ceux qui pourraient être inculpés à la suite de la manifestation anti-fasciste du 21 juin; et pour la libération immédiate de Pierre Rousset et Alain Krivine.

Cette initiative est déjà soutenue par Michel Chartrand, président du Conseil des Syndicats nationaux de Montréal; Henri-François Gautrin, président du Nouveau Parti Démocratique du Québec; Henri Gagnon, dirigeant du Conseil du Travail de Montréal de la FTQ; François Lalonde, président du Front Etudiant Québécois; et plusieurs autres individus.

C'est pour encourager cette campagne de défense des droits démocratiques en France, que nous publions ici la déclaration de la Quatrième Internationale, adoptée par son Secrétariat Unifié le 10 juillet. La LSO et la LJS sont affiliées à la Quatrième Internationale, fondée par Léon Trotsky en 1938.

Alain Krivine est un des dirigeants arrêtés de l'ex-Ligue Communiste, section française de la Quatrième Internationale, et ancien candidat à la présidence .

libération

LIGUE
SECTION

Déclaration de la Quatrième Internationale

La dissolution de la Ligue Communiste, les arrestations d'Alain Krivine et de Pierre Rousset, les perquisitions, les saccages des locaux de l'impasse Guéménée, ne constituent pas des incidents fortuits, contrastant avec une situation par ailleurs normale. Ce sont des actions délibérées du pouvoir bourgeois face à une montée de la lutte de classe en France et plus généralement dans d'autres pays d'Europe occidentale. Personne n'a été dupe de la fausse symétrie opérée par le gouvernement français en dissolvant simultanément la Ligue Communiste et l'organisation pro-nazie Ordre Nouveau. Le gouvernement français avait permis et fait protéger par la police le meeting raciste organisé par Ordre Nouveau le 21 juin à la salle de la Mutualité. Il avait permis aux bandes fascistes d'apporter leur armement dans cette salle; il fit accompagner ces mêmes bandes à la fin du meeting lorsqu'elles ramenèrent ce matériel à leur siège. Il a été également mis en lumière que le dispositif policier opposé à la contre-manifestation avait été conçu de manière à entrainer des pertes sérieuses à la police et tous les démentis officiels sur ce sujet n'ont convaincu personne. La machination gouvernementale avait par conséquent les buts suivants: d'une part pouvoir frapper la Ligue Communiste, d'autre part renforcer au sein de la police un syndicat indépendant favorable au fascisme, au détriment du syndicat autonome, majoritaire dans la police, et s'opposant de plus en plus à la conception de l'actuel ministre de l'intérieur sur le maintien de l'ordre.

L'appel de la Ligue Communiste à une contre-manifestation anti-fasciste ne visait aucunement à engager des combats de rue, une guerilla urbaine, dans laquelle l'avant-garde révolutionnaire se substituerait à une manifestation de masse de la classe ouvrière. Au contraire, l'action de la Ligue Communiste avait pour but d'attirer l'attention des travailleurs contre le danger fasciste potentiel grandissant à l'ombre de la complicité gouvernementale et de montrer que le seul moyen de vaincre le fascisme réside dans une défense adéquate et organisée de la classe ouvrière et non dans de vains appels à l'Etat bourgeois. L'organisation Ordre Nouveau aux effectifs et à l'auditoire réduits, ne constitue que la pointe avancée du fascisme. Derrière elle se profilent des menaces plus inquiétantes, en premier lieu les prétendus syndicats de la CFT appuyés par le patronat pour semer la terreur dans certaines entreprises (voir Peugeot à St-Etienne, Citroen,...). En outre, le processus actuel de décomposition de l'UDR donne lieu à des phénomènes troubles, à des manifestations de racisme et d'anti-sémitisme, dans lesquels commence à s'accumuler un potentiel fasciste qui, ultérieurement, pourrait donner lieu à une menace de masse. Le gouvernement constitué par Messmer au lendemain des élections s'efforce de rassembler les énergies d'une bourgeoisie en décrépitude en face d'une puissante montée des masses laborieuses à la recherche d'une solution socialiste à la crise du régime capitaliste.

En moins de 6 mois, une succession de mouvements de masse a montré que l'UDR n'avait obtenu aux élections qu'une victoire à la Pyrrhus. Lycéens et étudiants sont descendus dans les rues par centaines de milliers, mettant en cause la fonction de l'armée capitaliste. Des dizaines de milliers de femmes, soutenues par l'écrasante majorité de la population ont bafoué l'ignoble loi contre l'avortement. Les intellectuels, les artistes, se sont dressés contre "l'ordre moral" proclamé par le ministre des affaires culturelles. Enfin et surtout,

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...répression en France

dans toutes les régions de France, la classe ouvrière -- depuis les OS et en particulier les travailleurs immigrés, jusqu'aux ouvriers les plus qualifiés -- se dresse non seulement pour de meilleures conditions de travail et d'existence, mais contre l'ordre capitaliste. Un moment endiguée par l'espoir d'une victoire électorale de "l'Union de la Gauche", la montée des masses se manifeste avec une vigueur de plus en plus grande.

L'exemple le plus éclatant, le plus riche de signification, qui a acquis un retentissement national, est celui que donnent les ouvriers de Lip à Besançon. Menacés de licenciements en raison de la faillite annoncée de cette entreprise, les travailleurs de chez Lip ont commencé par mettre de côté un important lot de montres en garantie du paiement de leur travail, puis ils ont décidé de fabriquer et de mettre en vente au prix de revient de nouvelles montres. Ainsi fonctionne désormais, en violation ouverte du code bourgeois, une usine sans patron, dont l'outillage et les matières premières sont utilisées par les travailleurs, les montres produites vendues -- le tout au milieu de la sympathie générale des travailleurs de France. Quelques milliers d'hommes et de femmes ignorent ainsi la propriété capitaliste, l'autorité patronale, le code bourgeois, et le gouvernement ne fait rien dans ce domaine par crainte de provoquer une explosion sociale.

C'est dans de telles conditions qu'il a décidé son opération contre la Ligue Communiste dont les progrès, bien qu'encore faibles, l'inquiétaient. Par une opération en quelque sorte préventive, il s'agissait de frapper l'organisation d'extrême-gauche la plus forte et ce avec l'espoir qu'elle se trouverait isolée des masses, assurant ainsi le succès de l'opération.

Le calcul du gouvernement français a échoué sur toute la ligne. Il n'a fallu que quelques jours pour que le traquenard soit démasqué, pour que le danger fasciste et la complicité gouvernementale apparaissent au grand jour. Et, ce qui est de loin le plus important, tout le mouvement ouvrier, et avec lui de larges couches démocratiques, ont dénoncé la manoeuvre gouvernementale et pris la défense de la Ligue Communiste et de ses militants. Jamais encore une telle unanimité ne s'était manifestée en France: PCF et Parti Socialiste, CGT, CFDT et FO, FEN, Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, qui n'avaient pas réagi à l'annonce de la tenue du meeting raciste, et les formations d'extrême-gauche ont pris fait et cause pour la Ligue Communiste. Qui aurait pensé il y a quelques semaines encore que le PCF, par son quotidien l' "Humanité", mènerait une campagne intense et enverrait Jacques Duclos pour intervenir en son nom dans un meeting contre la dissolution de la Ligue Communiste ! En termes rageurs, le ministre de l'intérieur a exprimé à la télévision sa fureur face à la mobilisation générale qui s'est faite contre cette agression. Enfin, des milliers d'hommes et de femmes ont compris la leçon qu'avait voulu donner la Ligue Communiste, à savoir que la lutte contre le fascisme ne pouvait se limiter à une dénonciation politique mais impliquait une action prolétarienne, y compris une lutte physique, pour briser un tel danger dans l'oeuf.

Le mouvement ouvrier et les masses laborieuses de France ont répondu avec une unanimité rarement vue dans le passé. Internationalement, des manifestations de solidarité se sont produites, notamment dans les pays d'Europe voisins de la France, où l'exemple de Mai 68 a eu les plus grands échos et où l'on saisi de la façon la plus claire l'enjeu de la situation. Les calculs du gouvernement français ont été déjoués, mais la répression n'est pas enrayée. La Ligue Communiste reste encore dissoute, Alain Krivine et Pierre Rousset sont encore en prison, de nombreux militants trotskystes sont poursuivis. La solidarité doit donc se poursuivre en France et internationalement pour imposer l'abrogation du décret de dissolution de la Ligue Communiste et la libération des emprisonnés, pour assurer la pleine liberté d'expression, d'organisation et de manifestation des organisations révolutionnaires, en particulier pour qu'aucune atteinte ne soit portée à la parution de la presse trotskyste, pour annuler toutes les mesures anti-démocratiques que le gouvernement français a prises depuis Mai 1968.

Mais la lutte ne peut trouver sa fin dans le rétablissement des libertés qui ont été piétinées par l'arbitraire gouvernemental. C'est vers de grandes épreuves de force que s'oriente la lutte des classes en France. La lutte pour faire reculer la répression gouvernementale sera, pour l'avant-garde révolutionnaire internationale, le point de départ pour préparer les travailleurs à ces grandes épreuves dans lesquelles ils auront à affronter des forces capitalistes rendues d'autant plus féroces qu'elles sont le dos au mur et défendront par tous les moyens leurs profits et leurs privilèges.

Le Secrétariat Unifié de la IV Internationale assure de sa solidarité totale les militants de France victimes de la répression. Le mouvement trotskyste en France, créé en 1929, a connu bien des vicissitudes. Il a traversé avec courage l'épreuve sanglante de l'occupation nazie et du régime de Pétain. Déjà dissous au lendemain de Mai 68, il ressurgit beaucoup plus puissant l'année suivante avec la création de la Ligue Communiste. La nouvelle épreuve -- personne n'en peut douter -- se terminera par de nouveaux progrès de la IV Internationale en France.

Front Unique pour libérer Alain Krivine et Pierre Rousset! Front Unique pour imposer l'abrogation du décret de dissolution de la Ligue Communiste ! Front Unique pour briser la répression ! Vive la lutte révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière de la jeunesse, des masses laborieuses de France pour un gouvernement des travailleurs jetant les bases d'une société socialiste !

libération

Argentine:

Péron tente de calmer la mobilisation de masse

LUZ Y FUERZA
PRESENTE
PERON
CAMPORA
CAMPORA C.G.T

par DENIS ROBERT

Une vague d'occupation déferle sur l'Argentine. La fièvre occupationniste atteint les stations de radio, les écoles, les hôpitaux, les établissements industriels, les bureaux du gouvernement, etc...

A Buenos Aires, une conserverie a été occupée par les travailleurs qui réclament le ré-engagement de travailleurs congédiés pour activité syndicale, l'achat d'une ambulance, une assistance médicale disponible à tous moments et que les employés engagés sur une base temporaire soient engagés sur une base permanente.

Le jour suivant, les cheminots occupaient les bureaux de la compagnie de chemins de fer San Martin et Mitre, exigeant que les travailleurs de la base se voient offerts des positions comportant des responsabilités et que les travailleurs congédiés pour activités politiques soient ré-engagés.

L'occupation des postes de radio a été un point commun de ces actions. On occupe partout, que ce soit à Rosario, à Mar del Plata, Buenos Aires où ailleurs, les travailleurs, déçus par l'immobilisme des autorités péronistes, passent à l'action.

Lors de son arrivée en Argentine, Péron fut accueilli par une foule enthousiaste. Deux millions de personnes, selon les estimés officiels s'étaient déplacées pour accueillir le "leader absolu de la nation". Mais, la fête ne s'est pas déroulée comme prévu. Une fusillade éclata qui laissa 34 morts et 400 blessés sur l'aéroport d'Ezeiza. Ce qui révèle les contradictions sociales aigues qui secouent l'Argentine sous le nouveau gouvernement Péroniste.

Devant cette montée du militantisme ouvrier, les autorités, prudentes, prennent une attitude circonspecte. Elles ne se servent pas encore de la force bien que l'armée est intervenue pour empêcher que la station de radio de Paso de los Libres ne soit occupée. Néanmoins, on pouvait sentir un certain malaise au sein des dirigeants qui craignent que la situation ne devienne incontrôlable. Des mesures de sécurité imposantes ont été prises pour protéger le Palais de Justice, par exemple.

La mobilisation croissante des travailleurs argentins limite considérablement les possibilités de manoeuvre de la bourgeoisie par ailleurs passablement éculées.

Les revendications économiques, sociales et politiques des masses argentines vont bien au delà de ce que veut et peut concéder l'ordre bourgeois à Buenos Aires... même paré de la démogagie populiste du nouveau régime.

Les semaines qui viennent vont voir en Argentine, de nouvelles mobilisations massives, mettant en avant d'autres revendications. C'est dans le but de diriger ces explosions spontanées contre le régime bourgeois péroniste, pour transformer la situation pré-révolutionnaire actuelle en Argentine en lutte des travailleurs pour le pouvoir étatique, que le Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs (PST) s'efforce de construire un parti révolutionnaire de masse comme partie intégrante de la Quatrième Internationale trotskyste.

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CHILI: POURQUOI LA DEFAITE DU MOUVEMENT DE MASSE?

PARTIDO
SECCIONAL

L'essor des masses avant le coup d'Etat

par LA REDACTION

Proclamant que sa mission était de lutter pour "la libération de la patrie du joug marxiste", une junte militaire composée de quatre hommes a expulsé le président Salvador Allende le 11 septembre, a pris le contrôle du gouvernement, a déclaré l'état de siège et a imposé la censure et un couvre-feu.

Des descentes chez des dirigeants ouvriers ont commencé. La junte annonça que Allende s'était suicidé et qu'il avait été inhumé. L'agence de Presse Associée rapportait qu'une "liste de dirigeants Socialistes et Communistes bien connus était diffusée et qu'on leur aurait donné l'ordre de comparaître au ministère de la Défense sans quoi ils seraient arrêtés. Plus de 100 membres des partis Communiste et Socialiste étaient arrêtés à Santiago et à Valporaiso, une ville portuaire où des unités navales avaient initié le coup d'Etat tôt hier."

L'offensive contre la gauche a également frappé les exilés se trouvant au pays. Quelques deux milles exilés de la dictature militaire en Urúguay et au Brésil jouissaient de l'asile politique sous Allende comme par exemple, Hugo Blanco, le dirigeant trotskyste du mouvement paysan péruvien.

Tous les aéroports ont été fermés, les frontières chiliennes ont été bloquées et les étrangers qui sont "dans une situation illégale ou irrégulière" doivent se rapporter à la police.

Les corporations américaines touchées par les nationalisations effectuées par le régime Allende, ont réagi aux nouvelles d'une façon tout à fait typique: "Les rapports sur le coup d'Etat ont fait monter le prix du cuivre de 3 cents....à la New York

(suite à la page 2)

libération

les leçons pour la lutte au québec

par ALAIN BEINER

La crise pré-révolutionnaire qui ébranlait le Chili vient de se trancher en faveur de la bourgeoisie et de l'impérialisme. Cette triste défaite du mouvement de masse vient malheureusement confirmer les prévisions des socialistes révolutionnaires, et dégonfler les illusions très répandues au Québec quant à la possibilité de refaire ici le cas "exceptionnel" du Chili pour parvenir à la libération nationale et sociale. En plus d'apporter leur soutien militant le plus ample à la résistance des masses chiliennes, les militants ouvriers et indépendantistes au Québec ont le devoir d'en tirer les nombreuses leçons qui en ressortent pour l'élaboration d'une stratégie socialiste juste, chez nous.

La montée au pouvoir de l'Unité Populaire à la fin de 1970 reflétait la profondeur de la radicalisation ouvrière qui avait mené à la situation de crise sociale, de division dans le camp de la bourgeoisie et de mobilisation constante, mais le programme et les vacillations conscientes de ce gouvernement de collaboration de classe ont gravement limité cette radicalisation, et ont préparé la voie à la défaite.

Pour les dirigeants des partis Socialiste et Communiste, les deux partis ouvriers de masse qui participaient avec des partis bourgeois (comme le Mouvement d'Action Populaire Unitaire, le Parti Radical, etc.) dans l'Unité Populaire, il était possible de parvenir au socialisme en passant par des étapes graduelles et en faisant bloc avec les secteurs "nationalistes" de la bourgeoisie chilienne. Selon eux, la victoire électorale d'Allende confirmait la possibilité d'une voie essentiellement pacifique et électorale au socialisme.

Cette idée va à l'encontre de toutes les leçons de la lutte de classe depuis 100 ans, des leçons qui prouvent que les capitalistes ne céderont jamais leurs privilèges pacifiquement. Il est impossible pour les travailleurs d'établir le socialisme sans le renversement de l'appareil étatique de la classe capitaliste et sans la mise en place de leur propre appareil, y compris leurs propres organisations de défense armées. L'établissement d'un tel Etat ouvrier exige l'expropriation des capitalistes, autochtones et étrangers, et l'élimination des rapports de propriété capitaliste. Dans une telle lutte, la participation aux élections bourgeoises peut servir seulement de supplement aux mobilisations de masse extra-parlementaires, sous la direction d'un parti révolutionnaire.

Cette perspective était rejetée par les partis réformistes au Chili. L'Unité Populaire n'a pas effectué aucun changement qualitatif, ne mettant point en question les institutions fondamentales de l'Etat ni de l'économie, refusant la mobilisation et l'armement indépendants des masses et laissant ainsi intacts la puissance de la bourgeoisie, son armée et sa police, ses tribunaux, etc. Allende déclarait sa "confiance absolue" en la "loyauté" des forces armées, qui, selon lui, étaient au service du peuple ! Luis Corvalan du Parti Communiste Chilien qualifiait de "signe de méfiance envers l'armée", les propositions d'armer les masses !

L'expérience au Chili confirme non seulement la justesse de l'analyse marxiste de l'Etat et de la nécessité d'une révolution socialiste, mais aussi le caractère traitre et capitulationniste des partis Communistes et Social-Démocrates à l'échelle mondiale. D'où la nécessité de construire une nouvelle direction de la classe ouvrière sous forme de partis autentiquement révolutionnaires, capable de suivre une politique indépendante par rapport à l'ordre bourgeois. Un tel parti aurait pu briser l'emprise réformiste et collaborationniste de l'Unité Populaire sur les masses, en mettant de l'avant un programme de revendications transitoires projetant un pont entre la combativité et les luttes actuelles des masses, et l'établissement d'un Etat ouvrier.

Au Chili, toutes les conditions objectives étaient favorables à une telle victoire: non seulement une économie urbaine moderne et industrialisée et une classe ouvrière extrêmement puissante et combative, mais aussi une radicalisation de la petite-bourgeoisie pauvre et une désorientation et une division au sein de la bourgeoisie. Ce qui manquait c'est un parti révolutionnaire à influence de masse, capable de diriger les masses dans la préparation de leur propre défense, indépendamment de l'Etat bourgeois.

La construction d'un tel parti exigeait une position claire et nette sur la nécessité de l'indépendance politique des travailleurs, et une opposition sans ambiguités ni concessions à la nature réformiste du régime et des forces qui le soutiennent. Il fallait une indépendance totale par rapport à la coalition de front populaire, refusant tout soutien électoral aux candidats de ce front incluant des partis bourgeois et petit-bourgeois.

Pour le Parti Communiste du Québec, il était tout autre. Le régime d'Allende constituait "la base qui permettra aux travailleurs de pousser plus à fond leur prise du pouvoir, qui leur permettra, avant longtemps, d'instaurer le socialisme." (Combat, 22 octobre, 1971) Mais comme nous le voyons aujourd'hui, l'Unité Populaire, comme tout front populaire, préparait plutôt la défaite des travailleurs, en les liant à l'Etat bourgeois et à la tentative d'une fraction de la bourgeoisie de recruter la collaboration des partis ouvriers réformistes à la sauvegarde du capitalisme.

Cette leçon est indispensable à la lutte pour le socialisme au Québec. Les masses ouvrières et opprimées doivent maintenir une indépendance totale par rapport aux partis et à la politique bourgeoise. En aucun cas est-ce que les masses peuvent "utiliser" un parti bourgeois pour avancer leurs intérets, ni exprimer la moindre confiance en de tels partis. En ce sens, l'appui officiel ou officieux des dirigeants syndicaux au PQ bourgeois comporte les mêmes dangers que la politique des réformistes au Chili, et ne peut que désarmer les masses québécoises et les engager à un projet pro-capitaliste. Toute alliance avec quelque parti bourgeois que ce soit ne peut en aucun cas remplacer l'organisa-

(Suite page 2)

(Suite de la page 1)

tion politique propre aux travailleurs.

Assimiler la leçon-clé de la défaite du mouvement de masse au Chili c'est mettre au premier plan la nécessité aujourd'hui pour les centrales syndicales québécoises de rompre avec la politique bourgeoise et de lancer leur propre parti politique, un parti capable d'adopter un programme anti-capitaliste qui avancerait la lutte de classe des travailleurs et des autres opprimés.

Cette lutte pour l'indépendance de classe des travailleurs, prérequise à la victoire de la lutte nationale et socialiste au Québec constitue la pierre angulaire du programme de la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière et de la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. Seules la LSO et la LJS, de pair avec les autres partis de la Quatrième Internationale à travers le monde, ont été capables d'analyser la vraie nature du régime Allende et d'avertir les masses des dangers d'une telle collaboration de classe. Seule la construction de partis révolutionnaires de masse armés du programme de la Quatrième Internationale peut éviter de pareilles défaites dans l'avenir, que ce soit au Chili ou au Québec. C'est dans cette voie que s'engagent la LSO et la LJS.

Les bureaucrates syndicaux et le Parti Communiste du Québec trouvent lamentables le coup d'Etat au Chili et la chute du régime d'Allende -- ils craignent que les masses québécoises en tirent les conclusions que la "voie pacifique et électorale au socialisme" ne peut qu'aboutir à la défaite, et qu'il est illusoire d'aller en guerre contre les capitalistes enmême temps qu'on leur demande de participer au gouvernement.

Pour la LSO et la LJS, au contraire, la justesse de ces conclusions est incontestable, et la vérité est révolutionnaire.

[redacted]

(Suite de la couverture)

Commodity Exchange", selon le New York Times.

Dans l'espace d'une journée quelques compagnies parlaient de reprendre les activités au Chili "si le gouvernement nouvellement établi était réceptif à l'investissement".

Le rôle de l'Impérialisme Américain

David Binder du Times a signalé dans un article intitulé "Les Etats-Unis ne sont pas surpris", que les fonctionnaires américains essaient "d'éviter toute espèce d'idée d'engagement dans le renversement du Président Salvador Allende Gossens."

George Gedda de la Presse Associée écrivait que des observateurs diplomatiques avaient dit qu'ils s'attendaient à ce que Washington, anticipant les accusations selon lesquelles il serait tenu responsable du coup, permettrait un interval décent avant de reconnaître le nouveau régime cela pour éviter une identification trop proche avec la junte naissante."

Des larmes de crocodile ont été versées sur "la tragédie chilienne" même par des porte-parole de l'impérialisme tels le New York Times. La rédaction du New York Times affirmait le 12 septembre "qu'il ne doit y avoir aucune base d'aucune sorte pour laisser soupçonner une intervention étrangère". Mais le fait est que le coup du 11 septembre est l'aboutissement de trois ans de sabotages et de subversion contre le Chili par les Etats-Unis.

Peu après l'arrivée au pouvoir d'Allende en 1970, les Etats-Unis ont coupé les crédits au Chili, de même que la Banque Mondiale et la Banque Inter-américaine de Développement. La seule forme "d'aide" au Chili qui n'ait pas été arrêtée a été l'entrainement des officiers militaires chiliens aux Etats-Unis.

Le blocus économique américain du Chili avait pour but d'étrangler l'économie du pays, de miner la popularité d'Allende, et de préparer le renversement de son régime.

Même avant qu'Allende prenne le pouvoir, l'ITT et la CIA pressaient les Etats-Unis à prendre des mesures pour empêcher son élection, et plus tard sa montée au pouvoir. L'ITT a offert d'aider ce projet avec $1 million.

Comment les Etats-Unis étaient impliqués directement dans l'organisation immédiate du coup, n'est pas connu. Binder rapporte toutefois que "dans certaines conversations il y a trois semaines, des experts américains de la diplomatie et de l'espionnage prédisaient qu'un militaire surviendrait bientôt à cause d'une nervosité croissante dans les forces armées à propos de l'expansion de groupes armés de travailleurs dans des bases autour de Santiago."

Un coup contre les masses

Le renversement d'Allende par les forces armées représente un coup au peuple du Chili et de toute l'A-

QUÉBEC CHILI

Plus de 1000 Québécois sont descendus dans la rue à Montréal le 13 septembre, pour dénoncer le coup d'Etat et pour prouver leur solidarité avec les masses chiliennes.

(Suite page 3)

libération

le bilan des événements au chili

Construisons
une vaste campagne de défense
contre la répression au Chili!

LIBERATION, octobre 1973/3

(Suite de la page 2)

mérique Latine. La victoire électorale de l'Unité Populaire d'Allende en septembre 1970 a été le résultat d'une montée puissante des masses ouvrièreset paysannes chiliennes. Des réformes dramatiques ont été gagnées par cette mobilisation.

Une hausse générale des salaires de 35% a été gagnée. Des nationalisations importantes ont été effectuées et les programmes de réforme agraire ont été accélérés. Des prisonniers politiques ont été libérés et une unité spéciale anti-émeute de la police a été démantelée.

C'était nécessaire de poursuivre ces gains d'une façon révolutionnaire conséquente, ce qui exigeait un parti révolutionnaire de masse, du type léniniste. En l'absence d'un tel parti, il n'y avait aucune force capable d'organiser et de guider les masses paysannes et ouvrières dans une lutte victorieuse pour le pouvoir.

Allende et ses partisans prétendaient que son élection avait ouvert la voie à une transition pacifique au socialisme. Toutefois ceci était démenti par le fait que des partis pro-capitalistes participaient à la formation de l'Unité Populaire. Allende détournait les masses de prendre la voie vers une révolution socialiste. Son cours réel était la collaboration de classe.

Cette politique, qui a marqué les fronts populaires des années 30, a été suivie par les partis Socialiste et Communiste au Chili, les éléments principaux de l'Unité Populaire. Ils sont en grande partie responsables d'avoir rendu possible le coup d'Etat droitier. Suivant cette politique, Allende, et les dirigeants des partis Communiste et Socialiste qui l'ont appuyé, ont continuellement affirmé leur confiance dans l'armée. "Je suis de plus en plus convaincu que les forces armées du Chili sont une expression du peuple et alors sont irrévocablement et essentiellement professionneles et démocratiques", disait Allende dans un interview publié le 14 février 1971 dans le journal quotidien "Clarin" de Buenos Aires.

Allende a joué un rôle clé en construisant le prestige et le poids politique des forces armées en nommant des généraux à son cabinet durant des périodes de crise. Non seulement est-ce que Allende se trompait sur les forces armées, mais aussi il craignait les masses, surtout ce qu'elles feraient si elles étaient armées.

Le ministre de l'Intérieur José Toha a dit bien clairement dans le même numéro du journal "Clarin" que "le gouvernement réaffirme sa décision de ne pas accepter l'existence de groupes armés d'aucune sorte; les fonctions se rapportant à l'ordre et à la sécurité sont exclusivement sous la jurisdiction des forces armées et des Carabinières."

Déjà, en avril 1972, Libération soulignait le danger d'un coup d'Etat droitier et proimpérialiste au Chili, l'incapacité d'Allende d'y résister et la nécessité de suivre la voie "de la mobilisation des masses, de la formation de comités d'usine, de paysans, d'étudiants, de soldats et de sous-officiers; de comités de quartier, de milices d'auto-défense, en vue de la prise du pouvoir réelle par la classe ouvrière elle-même. La seule voie est l'organisation et la préparation des masses en vue de résister militairement à toute tentative de coup d'Etat réactionnaire, en vue de l'affrontement inévitable avec la bourgeoisie et ses bandes armées. Et cette organisation ne sera elle-même possible que si les révolutionnaires regroupés dans un parti de combat indépendant de l'Unité Populaire stimulent et étendent les luttes, les occupations, les grèves ouvrières et paysannes, en leur donnant des perspectives politiques claires, ce qui signifie avant tout combattre toutes les illusions sur le caractère de l'Unité Populaire, toutes les illusions sur les voies pacifiques au socialisme."

Allende a fait tout son possible pour bloquer l'armement des masses qui voulaient se défendre au cas d'une tentative de coup d'Etat. En janvier dernier, il a permis le passage d'une loi autorisant l'armée à effectuer des fouilles et à saisir des armes à travers le pays.

Au moment du coup d'Etat le 11 septembre, Allende déclara "qu'un secteur de la marine" s'était révoltée et qu'il "attendait maintenant une décision de l'armée de défendre le gouvernement".

Au Chili, une censure très forte est en effet établie et l'importance du mouvement de résistance n'est pas encore connue. Les commentaires dans la presse capitaliste sont unanimes pour dire que les chefs militaires doivent procéder prudemment et avec du sang-froid pour éviter la guerre civile.

libération

La 4ième Internationale sur la nature du régime Allende

(Nous publions ici des extraits de la résolution adoptée au mois de décembre 1971, par le Secrétariat Unifié de la Quatrième Internationale, le parti mondial de la révolution socialiste fondé par Léon Trotsky auquel adhère la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière -- NDLR)

La nature essentiellement réformiste du gouvernement Allende est d'ailleurs conforme avec le programme présenté avant et après les élections. Fondamentalement, ce programme prévoit l'achèvement de la réforme agraire chrétienne-démocrate, la suppression de la mainmise impérialiste directe sur l'exploitation des matières premières, l'étatisation d'une série de secteurs industriels et la nationalisation des banques. Ce programme, s'il était appliqué intégralement, modifierait profondément la structure économique chilienne, les rapports de force entre les classes, la répartition du revenu national et le rôle politique joué par les différentes forces. Mais il n'introduirait pas de changement qualitatif - le Chili resterait un pays capitaliste dominé par la loi du profit intégré dans le système impérialiste mondial.

Dans un pays aux structures économiques et sociales très avancées par rapport au niveau moyen des pays néo-coloniaux, il est plus clair que jamais que la perspective d'une révolution démocratique bourgeoise séparée de la révolution socialiste, n'a pas la moindre justification objective. La seule révolution possible au Chili est une révolution à dynamique socialiste sans aucune solution de continuité et à un rythme relativement rapide. L'émancipation par rapport à l'impérialisme - étant donné la symbiose étroite entre impérialisme et bourgeoisie nationale - ne pourra se concrétiser que par l'expropriation totale de la classe dominante indigène. Toute ambiguité, toute échappatoire à ce sujet aurait des conséquences désastreuses et désarmerait les forces motrices de la révolutionqui doivent acquérir une compréhension claire de ce qu'elles saisissent d'instinct et s'efforcent de réaliser empiriquement.

L'idée qu'une telle dynamique révolutionnaire puisse s'épanouir pleinement jusqu'à l'issue victorieuse sans briser le cadre politique de la vieille société, grâce à une évolution "pacifique" et non par une rupture de l'appareil étatique (administration et establishment militaire) pour repartir sur de nouvelles bases, signifie se tromper délibérément, oublier les leçons de l'histoireséculaire du mouvement ouvrier, être incapable de saisir la logique implacable de la situation qui se développe dans le pays. Loin d'être une innovation théorique, comme le prétendent les charlatans de tout acabit et ceux qui, par empirisme ou opportunisme, piétinent la méthode marxiste, la conception de la "voie chilienne" n'est qu'un nouvel avatar de l'idéologie réformiste que le marxisme a combattu depuis le début du siècle et qui à des étapes cruciales a déjà fait beaucoup de ravages dans le mouvement ouvrier d'autres parties du monde. Le point essentiel est qu'au Chili le problème du pouvoir n'a été aucunement résolu ni même n'a commencé à l'être. Il ne pourra être affronté effectivement et résolu que par la voie révolutionnaire.

De tout ce qui précède il découle que toute forme de collaboration de classe avec la bourgeoisie ou des secteurs de la bourgeoisie doit être résolument repoussée. Cela implique que les masses chiliennes doivent lutter pour remplacer le gouvernement de coalition de l'UP par un gouvernement ouvrier et paysan d'où soit excluetoute participation de partis ou de groupes qui représentent, ne fut-ce qu'indirectement, les intérêts de la bourgeoisie et d'autres couches d'exploiteurs. Cela signifie que le processus révolutionnaire doit être approfondi et stimulé par la création d'organismes de double pouvoir, d'organismes authentiques de démocratie prolétarienne, issus directement des entreprises, des campagnes, des campamientos, des écoles, et dont les membres soient élus, puissent être révoqués à tout moment et ne jouissent d'aucun privilège matériel.

Par ailleurs le Chili ne sera pas une exception historique: le renversement du régime capitaliste ne pourra pas se réaliser sans l'intervention décisive d'un parti révolutionnaire, avant-garde consciente des masses. Les tâches qui appartiennent à un tel parti ne sauraient être déléguées au Parti Communiste. Ce parti, profondément marqué par une longue tradition stalinienne, est l'expression d'une bureaucratie ouvrière autochtone, et de couches du prolétariat relativement conservatrices qui ne se mobilisent pas dans la crise actuelle avec le même dynamisme que la jeune génération. Il maintient toutes ses conceptions traditionnelles, n'ayant rompu sous aucune forme le cordon ombilical qui l'attache à la bureaucratie soviétique. Les tâches du parti révolutionnaire ne sauraient être déléguées non plus au Parti Socialiste. Celui-ci a élargit son audience de masse, notamment parmi les ouvriers des jeunes générations, a adopté dans ses organismes des positions qui le placent à la gauche du PC (Véritable fer de lance du réformisme); mais il n'a pas la structure d'un parti de combat, n'a pas de liens solides et constants avec les masses qu'il influence et apparaît plus comme un conglomérat de tendances et de groupes que comme une formation homogène; en fin de compte il a traits caractéristiques d'une organisation centriste. Il faut repousser, en tous cas, toute conception se basant -- explicitement ou implicitement -- sur l'hypothèse, que grâce au dynamisme du processus révolutionnaire et à la puissance du mouvement de masse, grâce à l'affaiblissement de la bourgeoisie et de sa décomposition progressive probable, et à des conditions où l'impérialisme serait acculé à renoncer à une intervention militaire, le prolétariat pourrait arriver au pouvoir même en l'absence d'un véritable parti révolutionnaire léniniste.

Un des facteurs qui a contribué à la victoire droitière, c'est le refus d'Allende d'aller jusqu'au bout en expropriant les capitalistes et les grands propriétaires fonciers. Les paysans pauvres, comme ceux dans la photo, se voyaient obligés d'effectuer leur propre réforme agraire en occupant les grandes terres.

Libération se lit partout...

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Contre le péronisme en Argentine:

Le PST: pourquoi on s'est presenté aux élections...

patrones
rigentes ni mil
vendidos
PO
AÑEROS

José Paez, candidat du PST.

(Nous publions ici la conclusion du rapport présenté par Juan Carlos Coral au congrès extraordinaire du Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs qui s'est tenu à la fin de juillet dernier. Le PST, organisation argentine sympathisante de la Quatrième Internationale, a décidé à ce congrès, de se présenter dans les nouvelles élections présidentielles prévues pour le 23 septembre. Coral contestera la présidence, alors que José Paez, dirigeant syndical de Cordoba, se présentera à la vice-présidence. Le PST se présente contre Péron et les deux autres candidats bourgeois -- NDLR)

par JUAN CARLOS CORAL

Ainsi, dans la logique des événements, et face à cette réponse combative de classe des travailleurs, la bourgeoisie a réagi avec la dernière alternative que lui restait: la plus large alliance de classe qu'ait connue ce pays, dans laquelle on prend pour acquis l'hégémonie des secteurs financiers internationaux, mais où aussi sont intégrées l'oligarchie foncière et la bourgeoisie nationale. Cette alliance s'est concrétisée, bien sur, autour de Péron comme le grand chef bonapartiste qui se donne le rôle d'arbitre dans les conflits entre les secteurs de la bourgeoisie, et qui jouit de l'appui de la classe ouvrière.

Péron était une espèce de réserviste de l'impérialisme à Madrid et il lui est donc facile de remplir le rôle de dirigeant ouvrier et populaire. Sur un autre niveau, il envoya sa bénédiction enregistrée à tous les secteurs du mouvement péroniste: Osinde et Rucci,. Galiberti et Lopez Rega. Tous avaient la bénédiction de Péron, naturellement la jeunesse et les secteurs combatifs reçurent un encouragement spécial parce que c'était un bon moyen de maintenir les illusions des travailleurs et du peuple sur ce faux dirigeant révolutionnaire.

Mais au moment d'assumer le pouvoir, il sera tenu à se définir face aux problèmes concrets. Et Péron se trouvera alors démasqué devant une classe ouvrière qui a vécu pendant 18 ans dans l'attente et qui est intervenue héroiquement en faveur de son retour.

Devant la structure archaique et latifundiste, il a répondu par une taxe diplomatique sur les revenus potentiels de la terre, tout en maintenant les vieilles structures et les privilèges. Face au problème de la décapitalisation du pays par la libre fuite des profits sur les investissements étrangers, Péron a répondu avec une limite de 12.5%; un plafond qui n'est pas respecté maintenant que c'est libre. Face au problème que nous réclamons la nationalisation des banques, il a répondu simplement avec la nationalisation des dépôts bancaires, ce qui les permet de diriger les crédits vers les secteurs qui les intéressent.

Face, finalement, à tous les aspects de la surexploitation ouvrière, ils ont répondu avec la fameuse augmentation des 20,000 pesos (1000 pesos = $1), qui ne fait que ratrapper le niveau des salaires des premiers mois de cette année.

Mais aussi la classe ouvrière prépare, à travers notre parti, sa réponse à cette politique bourgeoise; la mobilisation révolutionnaire des masses; la conquête du pouvoir par la classe ouvrière à travers notre programme révolutionnaire.

Cette réponse consiste à discréditer toutes les illusions utopiques et réactionnaires, de révolutions nationales. Car notre économie n'est qu'un rouage du réseau organisé qu'est l'économie capitaliste mondiale. Il n'y a pas de possibilité de nous libérer de l'impérialisme sans sortir du cadre du système capitaliste. Il n'y a pas de possibilité de s'échapper de l'exploitation impérialiste avec des formulations tier-mondistes ou de révolution nationale, sans changer les rapports de production. C'est-à-[illegible]re, initier la révolution socialiste, à travers la révolution permanente comme l'ont montré les exemples de la Russie, de Cuba et du Vietnam.

Cette réponse politique nous la mettons de l'avant avec un instrument: un parti de cadres, parfaitement disciplinés et conscients du fait qu'ils seront les dirigeants du processus révolutionnaire qui se développe.

Et nous autres, camarades, nous avons maintenant à résoudre le problème de rassembler tous ces éléments en utilisant ces nouvelles élections. Quand tous les autres sont pris dans leurs propres manoeuvres, sans pouvoir s'en sortir, nous donnerons l'exemple d'organisation et de conviction, et nous ferons preuve, non de la confusion -- qui est leur marque déposée -- mais de la clarté -- qui est notre avantage --, si nous lançons une réponse immédiate.

Il ne s'agit pas ici de préparer le parti pour une fonction électorale, mais de mettre les élections au service de la construction du parti. Durant cette période, comme durant toute autre période, nous tentons d'accomplir la triple tache révolutionnaire qu'expliqua Lénine ainsi: agitation au sein des masses, propager nos idées et éduquer nos cadres. Voilà le sens de notre intervention dans les élections.

...Argentine

Ce que je veux signaler, pour terminer, c'est qu'à cette étape il faut surtout une conscience de l'urgence avec laquelle il faut éduquer les cadres. Car c'est certain que l'instabilité de cette dernière alliance de classes, l'instabilité et la décadence de la bourgeoisie et des classes dominantes dans le gouvernement, nous place devant une perspective révolutionnaire. Et quand arrivera ce moment, de la force de l'organisation et de la capacité des cadres de notre parti dépendra si cette crise révolutionnaire termine en une tragédie, comme la révolution espagnole, ou en une révolution historique, comme la révolution russe de 1917.

CHILI:

“le massacre d'un peuple sans défense”

(Environ une semaine après le coup sanglant au Chili, le révolutionnaire péruvien Hugo Blanco, en exil à Santiago, a pu fuir au Mexique. Son évasion fut arrangée par le gouvernement suédois, qui lui a offert l'asile politique. Blanco fut accompagné par le trotskyste argentin Eduardo Creus et par un camarade brésilien Juliao Bordao. Nous publions ici des extraits d'un interview qui a été réalisé à Mexico le 28 septembre. L'interview dans son ensemble a été publié dans Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York 10014 -- NDLR)

QUESTION: La répression au Chili, quelle importance avait-elle?
BLANCO: Les militaires ont commencé la répression avant le coup, pour tenter de désarmer et de démobiliser le peuple. Ils ont fait des descentes dans les usines. Par exemple, ils ont effectué un raid dans une usine d'électronique à Arica dans le nord... Toutes ces descentes ont été effectuées en vertu de la soi-disante Loi sur le contrôle des armes qui fut adoptée par le bloc droitier au parlement au point culminant de la dernière offensive anti-gouvernementale en octobre 1972. Pourtant, l'Unité Populaire (UP -- la coalition de collaboration de classe que dirigeait Allende) ne s'y opposa pas activement. Les députés de l'UP s'en sont abstenus et Allende n'y a pas opposé son veto.

(...)Ces descentes, de plus en plus nombreuses, ont permis à la droite de mettre à l'épreuve la force du mouvement ouvrier, et sa capacité de résister. Ils ont également amorcé un processus de répression sélective qui visait à décapiter le mouvement ouvrier et les partis de gauche. On a frappé les bastions de la gauche dans le quartier industriel, dans les bidonvilles et dans les écoles comme l'Universidad Técnica, et des militants d'avant-garde ont été capturés et emprisonnés. Pendant toute cette première phase de la répression, les militaires et la police jouissaient de l'acquiescement d'Allende et de la direction de l'UP.

Lorsqu'ils ont lancé leur terreur massive le 11 septembre, les militaires ont également profité de la ligne défensive hésitante du gouvernement de l'UP. L'UP fit appel aux ouvriers en faveur d'un surveillance constante des usines. Ils ne firent pas appel en faveur de la saisie des usines mais seulement en faveur de la surveillance, ce qui signifiait que les ouvriers devaient continuer à travailler pour les patrons et même pour les impérialistes. Et après une journée abrutissante de travail, où on est sensé suivre le mot d'ordre de l'UP d'augmenter la production pour gagner "la bataille de la production", les ouvriers devaient y rester la nuit pour surveiller l'usine! Evidemment, ceux qui sont restés étaient principalement de l'avant-garde. Et puis, c'est essentiellement l'avant-garde qui a été prise aux usines lorsque les militaires ont lancé l'attaque.

Le jour du coup, les militaires ont lancé une attaque massive contre les usines et contre les bidonvilles afin de massacrer l'avant-garde. Parallèlement, ils ont tenté de rassembler tous les dirigeants des partis de gauche, aussi bien que les ministres et les députés de l'UP.

Ensuite, la répression s'est dirigée contre les cadres intermédiaires. Les militants dans les usines ont été congédiés, arrêtés et tués. Les universités ont été fermées. L'Université de Concepcion, un centre bien connu de l'extrême gauche, a été fermée et formellement abolie. On a révoqué les diplômes des gradués. A l'Universidad Técnica, les militaires ont effectué un massacre dès le premier jour du coup, tuant environs 600 personnes. Il y a eu également massacre à l'Instituto Pedagogico.

(...)Le gros de la répression s'est dirigé contre les quartiers industriels et contre les bidonvilles, dont Lo Hermida, La Legua et Nueva Havana furent les lieux de massacre. Plusieurs usines nationalisées où l'organisation des travailleurs avait atteint son niveau suprême, furent détruites. (...)

Les forces armées ont été transformées en machine meurtrière. Plusieurs personnes furent tuées au moment d'être prises, ou au lendemain, comme bon semblait aux militaires. Le but de la répression fut d'expulser la gauche de toutes les usines et centres, en les tuant, en les repoussant et en les arrêtant. De cette façon, le mouvement ouvrier fut décapité.

QUESTION: L'expérience chilienne, qu'a-t-elle prouvé quant à la théorie de la "voie pacifique" au socialisme?
CREUS: Cette théorie était peu rattachée à la réalité. La lutte de classe n'a jamais cessé. Les ouvriers occupaient des usines et les paysans s'emparaient des terres, sans demander la permission de l'UP. D'autre part, les droitiers attaquaient constamment le gouvernement. Ils ont poussé le gouvernement à utiliser la police pour réprimer les ouvriers qui voulaient accélérer le processus de socialisation. Par exemple, à plusieurs reprises lorsque les ouvriers occupaient les usines, c'était le gouvernement d'Allende lui-même qui les expulsait. A d'autres moments, le gouvernement réprimait les gens des bidonvilles qui militaient en faveur de la distribution directe des aliments et des vivres. Eventuellement, la droite accentua sa répression et commença à lancer des attaques contre les usines et contre les quartiers pauvres pendant qu'Allende était au pouvoir.

Au cours de tout ce processus, le rôle des partis Communiste et Socialiste était de freiner la mobilisation populaire. Un élément de leur politique fut le "dialogue" avec la droite et la campagne en faveur de la production. Ils n'ont pas dit aux ouvriers de s'organiser afin d'accélérer le processus, mais plutôt de travailler de plus en plus fort, même dans les usines encore entre les mains des impérialistes.

Bien que les masses furent sur l'offensive pendant la majeure partie de la durée du pouvoir de l'UP, elles étaient retenues par leurs directions réformistes. Lorsque la droite a pris l'offensive en octobre, les réformistes ont maintenu les masses dans une position strictement défensive. Les ouvriers ont vu la nécessité de s'armer. Ils discutèrent l'organisation de comités de défense. Mais le gouvernement d'Allende affirmait qu'il n'était pas question de forces armées outre les Carabiniers (escouade anti-émeute) et les militaires.

L'armée chilienne brûle les livres.

QUESTION: Quelle importance avait la résistance au coup?
CREUS: Il n'y a pas eu de résistance organisée. Les ouvriers voulaient lutter, mais en l'absence d'une organisation authentiquement révolutionnaire il ne pouvait pas y avoir de résistance organisée. Il y avait une certaine résistance de la part de franc-tireurs. Il y avait une certaine résistance de la part de groupes encerclés dans des places comme l'Instituto Pedagogico, mais ils furent massacrés. A l'Universidad Técnica ils ont tenté de résister, mais ils furent massacrés. On a résisté dans le bidonville de La Legua, mais il y a eu massacre comme à Lo Hermida.

QUESTION: Le MIR (Mouvement de la Gauche Révolutionnaire) avait il proposé une alternative à la direction réformiste de l'UP?
BORDAO: A aucun moment le MIR n'a réellement cherché à arracher les masses de l'emprise réformiste de l'UP. Voilà la clef à toute évaluation du MIR. Pendant la période précédant l'avènement au pouvoir d'Allende, on pouvait caractériser la ligne politique du MIR comme ultra-gauchiste. Ils effectuaient des vols de banques et faisaient tout ce qui est associé à la guérilla urbaine. Mais à aucun moment n'ont-ils tenté d'arracher les masses au réformisme. Ils se sont plutôt lancés dans des actions "avant-gardistes".

Au moment où Allende fut élu, le MIR a changé sa ligne, en réalité ce n'était que le revers de la médaille. A la place d'une politique de guerre de guérilla urbaine, ils ont capitulé devant Allende, en adoptant une ligne essentiellement opportuniste. Bien qu'ils aient maintenu leur indépendance organisationnelle par rapport à l'UP, ils en sont essentiellement arrivés à soutenir sa politique. La ligne du MIR, en fait, s'est fondue dans celle de l'UP. Ils lancèrent des attaques périodiques contre l'UP, mais l'aspect central était l'appui à l'UP.

C'est-à-dire, de même qu'ils n'ont pas cherché à gagner les masses du réformisme pendant la première phase de leur activité, ils ne l'ont pas fait plus dans la seconde phase. Ils avaient plutôt tendance à appuyer l'aile gauche du Parti Socialiste, l'aidant à empêcher les travailleurs les plus militants d'aller au delà du cadre de l'UP.

QUESTION: Quel rôle jouent les fascistes dans la répression?
CREUS: Tout le monde caractérise la junte de gouvernement fasciste. Nous ne croyons pas que ce

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qui existe au Chili soit le fascisme. Je ne dis pas ceci pour embellir la junte ni pour minimiser sa culpabilité. Ceci ne signifie pas que la junte est moins barbare; elle ne peut guère être plus barbare. La réalité est que si les militaires n'ont pas établi un régime fasciste, ce n'est pas parce qu'ils ne veulent pas le faire. Le fascisme, tel que nous le définissons, est un mouvement de masse qui se sert de bandes politiques pour reprimer les masses. Mais au Chili, il n'y a que les noyaux embryonnaires de ce type de bandes fascistes.

A l'heure actuelle, la répression est presque uniquement opérée par les forces armées. Si les fascistes y sont impliqués, nous n'en avons aucune nouvelle. D'autre part, les fascistes y contibuent en dénonçant des gens de gauche et en fournissant à la junte des camions et tout ce dont elle a besoin. Mais la répression, les massacres, sont opérés par les forces armées.

QUESTION: Que peut-on faire dans les autres pays pour minimiser l'ampleur de la défaite?

BLANCO: Il faut développer une campagne internationale pour freiner la répression au Chili. En premier lieu, il faut stopper les exécutions et les assassinats souvent quotidiens. Deuxièmement, il faut gagner un traitement plus humain pour les prisonniers et forcer les militaires à abolir leurs tribunaux spéciaux. Les manifestations qui ont eu lieu à travers le monde, au lendemain du coup, se sont immédiatement faites sentir. Quelques jours après les premiers massacres, il était évident que les militaires tentaient de se restreindre un peu. Puis je crois que cette campagne doit se poursuivre afin de sauver plusieurs vies de cette boucherie quotidienne.

La situation des étrangers au Chili est extrêmement grave. Le monde n'a pas vu tel pogrom hystérique depuis les années du nazisme. C'est une chose qui doit préoccuper non seulement les organisations de gauche mais toutes les organisations qui se disent pour les droits humains.

Il faut revendiquer que le gouvernement chilien permette le départ du pays de tous les exilés politiques. Le Chili a signé le traité latino-américain et si le Chili nie ce droit de départ à un seul exilé, il viole le traité. Il faut donc revendiquer que ce traité soit respecté et que soient enlevées les barricades qui entourent les ambassades latino-américaines.

Il faut, à la fois, lutter pour assurer aux exilés de nouveaux asiles pour qu'ils ne soient pas renvoyés dans leurs pays d'origine. Par exemple, renvoyer des Brésiliens dans leur pays signifie tout simplement les tuer au Brésil au lieu de le faire au Chili. Les organisations qui défendent les droits humains doivent faire campagne pour faire sortir les exilés et pour trouver une place hors de danger. Il y a en fait des Brésiliens qui se sont vus obligés de se réfugier dans leur propre ambassade, car face à la terreur déclenchée par la junte chilienne ils ont préféré la mort dans leur propre pays.

On devrait mentionner que plusieurs des Brésiliens qui se trouvaient au Chili n'avaient jamais participé au mouvement révolutionnaire. Ils étaient au pays pour étudier, pour travailler et pour d'autres raisons apolitiques. Mais le simple fait qu'ils doivent s'enfuir du Chili, où c'est un crime capital aujourd'hui d'être Brésilien, veut dire qu'ils ne peuvent pas retourner au Brésil. D'y retourner sous ces conditions, c'est irrévocablement assumer le statut de criminel politique.

Il est urgent de mettre à jour cette campagne de terreur presque sans précédent perpétrée par la junte contre la population. Malgré les histoires de résistance armée, ce qui se passe est essentiellement le massacre d'un peuple sans défense.

libération

Argentine:

Assassinat de trois trotskystes

(Dans le dernier numéro de Libération, nous vous informions de l'assassinat de trois militants ouvriers du PST -- Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores -- organisation sympathisante de la Quatrième Internationale en Argentine. Nous publions maintenant un article à ce sujet paru dans le numéro de juillet de la revue Imprecor, organe bi-mensuel d'information du Secrétariat Unifié de la Quatrième Internationale -- NDLR)

Le meurtre des trois membres du PST, tous trois militants syndicalistes connus, fait partie d'une véritable campagne terroriste lancée par les fascistes et la bureaucratie syndicale pour écraser l'opposition ouvrière aux projets péronistes d'"institutionnalisation". Nous indiquions diverses autres attaques contre les locaux du PST et contre ses militants. Depuis lors, de nouveaux attentats eurent lieu. Le même 30 mai au soir, huit individus armés enlevèrent trois membres du PST dans la zone de Lanus. "Nous avons déjà assassiné trois de vos camarades, il y en aura bientôt six", affirmèrent-ils. Battus, les yeux bandés, ils furent emmenés dans une maison et y furent battus durant plus d'une heure avant d'être relâchés. Les agresseurs se déclarèrent eux-mêmes être membres de l'administration et de la police de Lanus.

Les attaques des fascistes et des bureaucrates ne se limitent pas au seul PST. Durant les mois d'avril et de mai, on estime à plus de 50 les attaques contre des locaux de groupes péronistes de gauche et des organisations sympathisantes. Des menaces de mort furent adressées à des dirigeants du Frente de Izquierda Popular (Front de la Gauche Populaire) et du Partido Revolucionario Cristiano (Parti Révolutionnaire Chrétien). Rubben Poggione, un membre de la Fédération de la Jeunesse Communiste fut tué dans le Nord de Buenos Aires, peu avant le début du 10e Congrès national de son organisation. La semaine précédente, la résidence d'un médecin communiste et deux locaux du PC furent attaqués à la bombe. En plus des assassinats, il y eut des arrestations de militants manifestants pour des objectifs qui n'ont pas l'appui du gouvernement péroniste. Le 25 mai, furent arrêtés 250 manifestants demandant la libération des prisonniers politiques qui sont détenus dans la prison de Villa Devoto. Le 29 mai, soixante personnes furent appréhendées par la police au cours d'une manifestation en commémoration du mouvement insurrectionnel de Cordoba en 1969.

Les funérailles des trois militants assassinés du PST réunirent plus de 4000 personnes. Y étaient présents de très nombreux membres des syndicats et des organisations politiques; elles prirent l'allure d'une vaste démonstration de solidarité avec les victimes des attaques fascistes. Des dizaines d'organisations politiques et étudiantes envoyèrent des messages de solidarité.

Le quotidien de Buenos Aires "Noticia", citant Juan Coral un des dirigeants du PST qui prit la parole lors des funérailles, écrit: "le terrorisme est utilisé comme un instrument pour renforcer le Pacte Social" (la politique anti-ouvrière du gouvernement). De plus, il attaqua le gouvernement pour ne pas avoir pris les mesures adéquates afin de prévenir des assassinats comme celui qui eut lieu dans le Nord de Buenos Aires. Il accusa la bureaucratie syndicale de perpétrer de tels crimes pour briser la combativité ouvrière.

Le PST appela "tous les travailleurs et les organisations populaires, ainsi que tous les partis politiques et

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les organisations de jeunesse qui sont en faveur de la défense des droits démocratiques à s'unir dans l'action", afin de réclamer une enquête et la condamnation des responsables de ces crimes. Coral annonça que le PST avait demandé au gouvernement qu'il lui accorde le droit d'avoir des armes dans ses locaux pour organiser l'autodéfense. Cette demande fut faite lors d'une réunion, le 31 mai, entre Coral et le ministre de l'Intérieur, Benito Llambi. Durant cette rencontre ce dernier affirma que la police fédérale argentine était la meilleure du monde. Si c'est le cas demanda Coral: "Pourquoi n'ont-ils pas mis la main sur aucun des responsables des centaines d'attaques contre la classe ouvrière?"

Durant les funérailles Coral résuma les positions du PST sur les mesures à prendre dans la situation actuelle: "...si des résultats concrets n'apparaissent pas dans les 15 ou 30 jours après le début de l'enquête promise contre les activités terroristes, nous considérerons que le gouvernement a avoué sa complicité avec les bandes d'assassins d'extrême-droite. Dans cette période de pactes et d'accords secrets d'attaques criminelles, de conspirations, nous appelons à la formation d'un Accord d'Unité d'Action pour la défense des libertés civiles. Et comme le général Peron, qui semble être mêlé à tant de manoeuvres contre les travailleurs et le peuple, nous lui demandons aussi de prendre une position claire en faveur de cette initiative que nous devons prendre sur le champ afin de défendre les droits démocratiques. Finalement, nous réclamons la formation d'une commission parlementaire qui possède le pouvoir d'arrêter et d'interroger. Cette commission doit avoir l'appui de toutes les organisations confrontées aux attaques terroristes fascistes et de tous les secteurs du mouvement ouvrier qui ont subi les coups de la bureaucratie criminelle."

Lors de la réunion du Comité exécutif du PST, Nahuel Moreno souligna le besoin de former des brigades ouvrières et populaires anti-fascistes et des piquets de défense du mouvement ouvrier contre ces attaques ininterrompues.

"Avanzada Socialista", le journal du PST, rapporta dans ses colonnes les réponses positives que son appel à la formation d'un front unique reçut de la part du "Bloque de base" et du "Peronismo de base" (organisations de la gauche péroniste), du syndicat des travailleurs de l'industrie pharmaceutique, de la "Lista Marron Metalurgica" de Villa Constitucion (tendance lutte de classe du syndicat de la métallurgie), de l'UDELPA (Union del Pueblo Adelante), du "Partido Intransigente" et du Parti Communiste.

Entre 4,000 et 5,000 personnes ont participé aux funérailles des trois Trotskystes argentins assasinés le 30 mai. Des grèves dans plusieurs usines et écoles secondaires ont dénoncé ces meutres. Le PST a reçu des messages de sympathie de tous les groupes de gauche, des syndicats et d'autres partis.

libération

Ouvrez les portes du Canada aux réfugiés chiliens!

(Ecrit par Jon Cole, cet article a paru dans le numéro du 24 juin de Labor Challenge, bi-mensuel socialiste publié à Toronto. La traduction de l'anglais était faite par Suzanne Chabot -- NDLR)

Le Comité canadien pour la justice aux prisonniers politiques d'Amérique Latine (CLA) a accusé: "Ottawa est maintenant en train de dissuader activement les victimes de la junte chilienne de venir au Canada."

L'accusation, formulée dans un circulaire du CLA, le 17 juin, est basée sur des informations recues du Chili, incluant une feuille d'information publiée en mars par l'ambassade canadienne. Aucune de ces informations n'a été publiée ailleurs.

Plusieurs réfugiés chiliens ont accusé le Canada de juger les applications des réfugiés d'après des critères économiques plutôt qu'humanitaires--cette accusation est pleinement confirmée par le matériel publié par le CLA.

La feuille d'information de l'ambassade établit que "dû à la situation défavorable de la main-d'oeuvre au Canada, nous ne pouvons accepter des gens dont le métier est très peu ou pas du tout en demande au Canada." On ne mentionne pas la situation de la main-d'oeuvre au Chili, où, comme le CLA l'indique, "200,000 travailleurs ont été congédiés pour raisons politiques et ne peuvent trouver aucun autre emploi."

Surtout, la feuille d'information ne tient pas compte de la répression politique qui continue au Chili, des milliers de prisonniers politiques, du refus complet aux droits humains, des arrêts et des exécutions arbitraires qui se produisent à tous les jours.

Le gouvernement a annulé son "programme spécial" limité pour le Chili, mais les clauses de la loi sur l'immigration, laquelle pourvoit pour des raisons spéciales aux "minorités opprimées" et aux réfugiés, restent en vigueur. L' "Information générale" fournie par l'ambassade du Canada évite soigneusement de laisser savoir aux Chiliens que de telles clauses existent. La seule mention du "programme spécial" est une référence minime "au nombre limité d'immigrants qui étaient dans une catégorie exceptionnelle et dans des circonstances exceptionnelles."

Toute personne qui n'est pas complètement découragée par la feuille d'information a à faire face à une période de quatre à cinq mois de formalités, d'interviews, d'examens et de délais, dont tous ont pour effet d'empêcher les réfugiés de venir au Canada. Le circulaire du CLA trace les grandes lignes des procédures à travers lesquelles doit passer un candidat:

"Le premier formulaire qu'ils remplissent demande des détails sur leur âge, leur éducation, les langues parlées, le genre d'emploi, et ainsi de suite. Seulement si ce formulaire est approuvé, ils en recoivent un second dans lequel ils expliquent pourquoi ils sont qualifiés pour le statut de réfugié. Mais le second formulaire doit être mallé à l'ambassade--peu d'adversaires de la junte veulent confier des informations politiques au courrier de la junte.

"Si le second formulaire est approuvé, le candidat doit passer à travers une vérification de sécurité et d'autres interviews qui peuvent durer aussi longtemps que quatre semaines. Si les fonctionnaires canadiens leur disent que c'est possible, les candidats peuvent, à ce stade, demander le statut de réfugié--mais ils ne se rendent pas à ce stade sans avoir rencontré toutes les exigences normales de l'admission comme non-réfugiés!"

Le CLA a précédemment protesté contre les soi-disant "interviews de sécurité" auxquels les réfugiés sont soumis. Des questions telles que "A quel parti politique appartenez-vous et comment est-il organisé?" et "Quelles relations avez-vous avec la résistance au Chili?" ont été posées aux réfugiés, avec le résultat d'un rejet s'ils refusent de répondre. Un tel interrogatoire est destiné à exclure du Canada les militants de gauche, et à fournir au RCMP (et leur contrepartie d'Amérique Latine) des informations sur la gauche au Chili.

"Les candidats qui passent les interviews, doivent avoir un examen médical à leurs frais," continue le circulaire. Dans un pays où le revenu moyen est moins de 25,000 escudos par mois, un examen médical coûte plus de 50,000 escudos--plus que le revenu pour deux mois! Ce fait seul empêche plusieurs Chiliens de venir au Canada.

"Quatre à cinq mois peuvent être nécessaires entre la première lettre et la décision finale du Canada--mais même à ce moment-là les procédures ne sont pas complètes.

"Les candidats qui sont acceptés doivent encore obtenir de la junte un permis d'émigrer, payer leur propre billet d'avion et, dans les mots de l'ambassade, se procurer 'assez d'argent pour s'entretenir jusqu'à ce qu'ils commencent à gagner un salaire au Canada.'

"Les barrières bureaucratiques et économiques que le Canada a érigées empêchent les fugitifs politiques de venir au Canada. Ottawa a claqué la porte à ceux qui fuient la terreur militaire au Chili."

En même temps qu'il fait de son mieux pour empêcher le plus de réfugiés chiliens de venir au Canada, Ottawa continue sa politique de garder les réfugiés au Canada dans un état d'insécurité. En mai les "permis temporaires" accordés à quelques réfugiés chiliens ont expiré. Plutôt que de leur accorder le statut d'immigrant--ils ont été au Canada sept mois!--le ministère de l'Immigration a simplement renouvelé les permis temporaires.

Aussi longtemps qu'ils ont un permis temporaire, les réfugiés n'ont aucun droit légal. Les permis peuvent être révoqués n'importe quand. Parmi les centaines de réfugiés ayant un permis temporaire, aucun ne s'est vu accorder le statut d'immigrant.

Plusieurs familles sont divisées par la politique du gouvernement--plusieurs réfugiés doivent laisser leur femme et leurs enfants au Chili ou dans des camps de réfugiés d'autres pays. Quelques-uns ont dû attendre jusqu'à six mois pour obtenir du gouvernement des procédures pour leurs applications pour faire venir leurs parents.

La publication par le CLA de nouvelles informations sur la politique inhumaine d'Ottawa devrait donner une nouvelle impulsion à la campagne pour ouvrir le Canada aux réfugiés chiliens, et pour accorder à tous les réfugiés le statut légal au Canada.

Interview avec Hugo Blanco:

La situation actuelle en Amérique Latine

(L'interview suivante a été donnée par Hugo Blanco à un reporter français. Blanco, présentement exilé en Europe, était à la tête du mouvement paysan "La Convencion" de 1958 à 1963, au Pérou. Hugo Blanco arrivera au Canada vers la mi-novembre et fera une tournée à travers le pays jusqu'au début de décembre. Pour de plus amples informations à propos de sa visite à Montréal, vous pouvez vous adresser à la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 861-3018 -- NDLR)

QUESTION: Comment caractérises-tu la situation actuelle au Pérou et le régime de Velasco-Alvarado?

REPONSE: Le gouvernement péruvien est surtout le représentant des secteurs bourgeois "desarrollistes" (prétendant au développement) nationaux aussi bien qu'impérialistes. Nous ne nous faisons aucune illusion au sujet de la possibilité qu'il puisse changer son caractère de classe, et nous ne croyons pas non plus qu'il soit capable de se libérer de l'impérialisme. Ce qui arrive, c'est que parfois il s'incline plus vers le nationalisme bourgeois, accentuant ses frictions avec l'impérialisme, liant cela à une politique populiste.

Nous avons toujours appuyé et nous donnerons notre appui critique à toutes les mesures progressistes du régime. Mais nous n'avons jamais appuyé et nous n'appuyerons jamais ce gouvernement ni aucun autre gouvernement bourgeois: nous luttons avec intransigeance pour un gouvernement des travailleurs.

On comprend mieux le cas péruvien si on le situe dans le contexte de l'Amérique latine. Les secteurs bourgeois -- même ceux que l'impérialisme a obligé à servir d'intermédiaires -- maintiennent des querelles permanentes avec celui-ci lorsqu'il s'agit de la répartition de la plus-value ou lorsqu'ils désirent diminuer leur dépendance. Selon leur puissance majeure ou mineure, ces secteurs déterminent les différents régimes de l'Amérique latine.

A cela, il faut ajouter la méthode politique qui permet d'exploiter les masses. Quelques secteurs sont en faveur de gouvernements forts, comme celui du Brésil, d'autres sont prêts à faire des concessions aux masses et pour rester dans le cadre d'une démocratie relative, comme celle qui existe au Pérou. Cela dépend aussi de la marge de manoeuvres que leur laisse la lutte des masses.

Entre ces deux facteurs il y a un rapport, mais ce n'est pas un rapport mécanique. Je veux dire par là que les secteurs impérialistes ne seront pas toujours en faveur de gouvernements forts, et les secteurs bourgeois nationalistes pas toujours en faveur d'une politique "populiste". Je considère qu'au Pérou, il est vrai qu'en général les secteurs "désarrollistes" nationaux sont en faveur du "populisme".

En Argentine, en 1955, tous les secteurs bourgeois, même ceux qui avaient appuyé Peron, s'unirent en faveur du putsch répressif. Une chose pareille eut lieu au Chili, où tous les secteurs bourgeois -- avec en tête l'impérialisme nord-américain -- fraternisèrent pour faire le putsch.

Le coup d'Etat du Chili a changé les rapports de forces en Amérique latine en ce qui concerne leur attitude face aux masses. Une de ses conséquences a été la constitution du bloc de gouvernements forts et pro-impérialistes: Chili, Brésil, Bolivie et Uruguay. Ce bloc ne représente pas seulement une attaque contre les peuples de ces quatre pays, il est aussi une grave menace contre les autres peuples des pays sud-américains. Vu de loin, il est difficile de calculer combien est proche le danger d'un coup d'Etat réactionnaire au Pérou. Mes camarades du FIR signalent dans leur journal "Palabra Socialista" que ce danger existe, bien que sous une forme latente et non immédiate.

Nous, les révolutionnaires, nous devons faire pression pour la constitution d'un Front Unique d'Action, composé par tous ceux qui s'opposent au putsch (les trotskystes l'ont fait en 1955 en Argentine et en 1973 au Chili). Nous devons faire appel aux directions réformistes des masses pour les inciter à lutter contre le putsch.

Nous ne croyons pas qu'elles le feront réellement. Leur politique anti-putsch est une politique de capitulations et de concessions faites aux secteurs "putschistes", freinant ainsi l'avance des masses. Ce qu'ils obtiennent avec cette méthode, ce n'est que la déroute des masses et leur propre défaite.

Notre politique anti-putschiste consiste à animer et diriger le mouvement des masses. La progression indépendante des travailleurs, sur le plan économique et politique, affaiblit objectivement le secteur "putschiste".

La meilleure façon de démasquer devant les masses les directions anti-putschistes est de les inviter à prendre une attitude anti-putschiste réelle et conséquente, attitude qu'elles ne seront pas capables de prendre.

QUESTION: Quelle est l'attitude du Parti communiste péruvien?

REPONSE: Le Parti Communiste Péruvien appuie le mouvement bourgeois, freinant et trahissant les luttes

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revendicatives des masses. Il utilise dans ce but la direction bureaucratique de la Confédération Générale des Travailleurs du Pérou, d'obédience communiste.

QUESTION: Comment se pose actuellement le problème de la défense des libertés démocratiques, et à quoi correspond l'initiative que tu as prise d'envoyer récemment une lettre ouverte au gouvernement Velasco?

REPONSE: La campagne pour les libertés démocratiques prend un aspect important dans la lutte du peuple péruvien, particulièrement en cas de danger d'un coup d'Etat. La répression des mouvements de masse, les arrestations de ceux qui ont participé à ces mouvements et la déportation des révolutionnaires favorisent surtout les secteurs de droite qui sont en faveur du putsch. J'ai envoyé, dans ce sens, une lettre ouverte au gouvernement péruvien, demandant qu'il permette le retour de nous tous, qui ont été déportés comme "gauchistes".

La meilleure manière de lutter pour les libertés démocratiques, c'est d'organiser, autour de ce dénominateur commun, de larges mouvements de masses. Cette méthode est en opposition avec l'attitude réformiste qui accorde sa confiance essentiellement aux démarches légales, en opposition aussi avec l'attitude ultragauchiste qui exige de tous ceux qui luttent pour les libertés démocratiques qu'ils acceptent en plus d'autres préalables politiques. La méthode réformiste n'est pas juste, car on ne peut pas avoir confiance en un appareil judiciaire ou étatique qui se trouve être entre les mains de la classe ennemie. La méthode ultra-gauchiste n'est pas juste non plus parce qu'elle élimine la possibilité de créer de larges mobilisations qui pourraient avoir une influence politique importante.

En France, il existe un "Comité de Solidarité avec les Victimes de la Répression au Pérou". J'espère que tous les Français qui sont en faveur des libertés publiques au Pérou collaboreront pour animer ce Comité.

QUESTION: La mobilisation des masses paysannes et le mouvement d'occupation des terres ont été extrêmement profonds dans les années 1958-1963. Quel bilan tires-tu de ton activité pendant cette période?

REPONSE: La mobilisation et l'organisation des masses paysannes ont commencé sur des mots d'ordre élémentaires. C'est pour cela qu'elles ont réussi à englober de grandes masses. Si nous avions commencé avec des mots d'ordre d'un niveau très élevé, nous serions probablement restés tout seuls, discutant entre nous de questions très révolutionnaires.

Au début, la lutte contre le réformisme se réduisait à lutter plutôt pour nos revendications que pour définir des méthodes de lutte. Les réformistes (PCP) utilisaient la mobilisation des masses pour leurs propres manoeuvres. Nous utilisons les revendications pour la mobilisation des masses.

Celles-ci ont appris à apprécier la puissance de leur mobilisation. Au début, on utilisa cette force principalement pour obtenir ce que la loi bourgeoise pouvait leur accorder. Mais très vite elle déborda la légalité bourgeoise et on constitua des embryons du double pouvoir (c'est-à-dire la naissance d'un pouvoir paysan, opposé au pouvoir bourgeois). On prit la terre, on organisa une réforme agraire réelle, on établit des tribunaux populaires et l'on dirigea les travaux publics, etc. Un aspect important était l'organisation de la défense.

Lorsque les paysans se sentirent organisés, puissants et à la tête de la lutte, ils comprirent aussi qu'il était nécessaire d'avoir des armes pour défendre leurs conquêtes et ils commencèrent à s'armer. Cela ne fut pas une action spontanée. Nous avons fait le projet, nous l'avons expliqué, nous avons commencé à préparer la défense armée et nous nous sommes mis à la tête du mouvement. Mais il aurait été stupide de commencer le travail dans la vallée de la Convencion par la méthode qui se définit elle-même comme "politico-militaire"; nous aurions été répudiés par les masses dès le commencement et il nous aurait été impossible d'amener les paysans à une compréhension de la nécessité de la lutte armée.

Le grand défaut du mouvement de la Convencion et du Cuzco fut l'absence d'un parti. Tous les aspects de la lutte -- même celui de la lutte armée -- auraient été plus puissants et mieux organisés s'il y avait eu un parti; un parti formé dans la chaleur de la mobilisation des masses.

Cette grave lacune et aussi le fait que c'était seulement un mouvement paysan régional furent la cause de la déroute de la résistance armée. Cependant, des conquêtes fondamentales ont pu être préservées. Et le plus important est que la paysannerie de cette zone conserve une tradition de lutte qui jouera le rôle qui lui correspond dans la révolution péruvienne.

J'ai écrit un livre au sujet de cette expérience: "Tierra o Muerte". Malheureusement, et je ne sais pas pourquoi, on ne l'a pas édité en français. Je crois que des études critiques faites par les protagonistes de cette lutte représentent un facteur important pour l'éducation de la gauche.

QUESTION: Que penses-tu de la "stratégie" de la guérilla?

REPONSE: Je suis contre la "stratégie" guérilleriste comme je serais aussi contre la "stratégie" de la grève générale, ou la "stratégie" de la grève avec occupation des usines, ou encore la "stratégie" des barricades. Toutes ces stratégies sont des tactiques très utiles si on les emploie dans certains pays et dans certaines circonstances, étudiant à tout moment la réalité concrète de chaque pays.

QUESTION: Quel est ton jugement sur le bilan de l'Unité Populaire au Chili?

REPONSE: Le gouvernement Allende était en fait un Front Populaire, car bien que les deux grands partis ouvriers étaient majoritaires dans son sein, il s'y trouvait aussi un secteur du parti radical, qui est un parti bourgeois. Le fait que ce secteur ait été minuscule, ou seulement l'ombre de la bourgeoisie, ne change pas le caractère de Front Populaire qu'avait l'Unité Populaire.

Dans des cas comme celui-ci, cette "ombre" de la bourgeoisie fut maintenue à l'intérieur du Front Populaire, pour montrer aux bourgeois qu'il leur était possible d'y rester, que les partis ouvriers étaient pleins de bonnes intentions à leur égard, et qu'ils étaient disposés à mener une politique bourgeoise.

Ce qui s'est passé au Chili a été une politique de collaboration de classe au service de la bourgeoisie. Les directions réformistes du PC et du PS ont joué le rôle de frein dans le mouvement de masse dont l'essor était à son point culminant. La "voie pacifique" a démontré une fois de plus qu'elle était la voie la plus sanglante et qui menait le plus sûrement vers un coup d'Etat réactionnaire.

A chaque instant le réformisme a ligoté les mains des masses. Malheureusement il n'y a pas eu un parti révolutionnaire qui aurait pu offrir un choix clair; le MIR a joué un rôle centriste en ne dénonçant pas publiquement l'Union Populaire comme réformiste, en signalant seulement "des secteurs réformistes en son sein", et en encourageant ainsi les espoirs des masses qui croyaient en la possibilité d'un changement de l'Union Populaire.

La répression s'intensifie en Argentine

Le 10 octobre, la police de la ville de Cordoba en Argentine s'est introduite de force dans le local du Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST -- Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs, organisation sympathisante de la Quatrième Internationale) et a arrêté les 15 personnes qui s'y trouvaient.

A peu près au même moment, un raid était mené contre le local du Parti Communiste.

Les personnes arrêtées au local du PST furent battues férocement et gardées en prison pendant 48 heures. Elles furent ensuite libérées sans qu'aucune accusation ne soit portée contre elles.

Les policiers ont complètement démoli le local du PST. Ils ont peint partout sur les murs les slogans "Viva la Policia!" et "Viva las Tres A!" ("Vive la Police!" et "Vive les trois A!"). Les "trois A" représentent l'Alliance Anticommuniste Argentine, un groupe d'assassins de droite qui est déjà responsable de l'assassinat de plusieurs membres bien connus de la gauche en Argentine.

Les attaques contre le PST et le PC à Cordoba, s'insèrent dans le contexte d'un assaut général de la droite contre l'avant-garde du mouvement ouvrier de cette ville. Cordoba est la forteresse des tendances de la lutte de classe dans le mouvement ouvrier argentin.

L'offensive de la droite a commencé en février dernier, quand un coup mené par la police locale et les fiers-à-bras à la solde de la bureaucratie syndicale réactionnaire renversa le gouverneur libéral péroniste élu. Peron sanctionna plus tard ce coup en forçant le gouvernement élu à donner sa démission et en plaçant la province sous l'administration du gouvernement national.

A la fin de septembre, les droitiers ont accompli un nouveau pas dans leur offensive. Ils ont renversé le conseil du syndicat de l'automobile de Cordoba, le SMATA. Le dirigeant déposé du SMATA à Cordoba, était René Salamanca, un syndicaliste militant bien connu.

Ensuite, le 10 octobre, la police mena un raid contre le syndicat de Luz y Fuerza (lumière et pouvoir électrique), dirigé par Augustin Tosco, militant indépendant et dirigeant syndical le plus connu du pays. Par la suite, le syndicat fut mis sous la tutelle du ministre national du Travail.

Le PST a fait face à des attaques meurtrières dans d'autres villes qu'à Cordoba. Il a été actif à travers le pays en essayant de construire une tendance de lutte de classe dans les syndicats.

Après la fin de semaine du 11 au 13 octobre, deux membres du PST ont été enlevés par un groupe de droite de Buenos Aires et torturés pendant plusieurs heures avant d'être relâchés. Dans la ville de Mendoza, le local du PST a été détruit par une bombe.

Le PST a revendiqué l'arrêt de la complicité de la police avec les groupes de droite et a commencé une poursuite légale contre le gouvernement, demandant une indemnisation pour les attaques portées contre ses membres et ses locaux.

Les protestations contre la terreur officielle et non officielle de la droite en Argentine peuvent être envoyées à Maria Estela de Peron, Casa de Gobierno, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

LIBERATION, novembre 1974/5

Nahuel Moreno

Interview sur la répression en Argentine

Le régime collabore avec les bandes fascistes

(L'interview suivante avec Nahuel Moreno, un des dirigeants du Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST -- Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs, une organisation sympathisante de la Quatrième Internationale en Argentine) a été obtenue le 7 octobre à Buenos Aires. Depuis le mois de septembre, le PST est l'une des principales cibles de la répression droitière. Au cours de la première fin de semaine de novembre, trois membres du parti furent enlevés et abattus, dont César Robles, l'un des dirigeants nationaux du PST et dirigeant de la grève des débardeurs sous la dictature d'Ongania. L'état de siège fut imposé au pays par le gouvernement le 6 novembre et une des premières mesures de la police fut une descente au siège national du PST à Buenos Aires le 7 novembre. Une campagne internationale de défense s'amorce en faveur des droits démocratiques en Argentine et contre le sort infligé au PST -- NDLR)

QUESTION: Qu'est-ce que l'AAA?

REPONSE: Premièrement, je voudrais clarifier la confusion qui existe autour de ces initiales. Selon certains journaux bourgeois, les initiales AAA représentent l'Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Alliance Anticommuniste d'Argentine), selon d'autres, c'est l'Alianza Antimperialista Argentina (Alliance Anti-impérialiste d'Argentine). Quel que soit le nom qu'elle porte, il ne peut y avoir aucun doute quant à son caractère politique; c'est une organisation terroriste typiquement fasciste. Ses liens avec un secteur du gouvernement et avec les forces répressives sont évidents, et il y a des faits pour prouver cette affirmation.

QUESTION: Qu'est-ce que vous pouvez nous dire sur les actions des guérilleros?

REPONSE: Malheureusement, en déclarant une mini guerre civile contre un gouvernement qui jouit de l'appui de 90% de la population et de 98% de la classe ouvrière, les groupes de guérilla tendent objectivement à provoquer la violence de la part de la droite.

Ils fournissent aussi un prétexte aux actions de la droite et à la législation réactionnaire du gouvernement. En niant la légitimité du gouvernement, ils balaient les opinions du mouvement ouvrier et ignorent la nécessité "d'expliquer patiemment" dans le but de convaincre le mouvement ouvrier de ne pas donner un appui politique à un parti bourgeois.

Pour tout dire en un mot, tous les gouvernements bourgeois sont illégitimes pour nous, en tant que marxistes, mais ce n'est que dans les plus exceptionnelles circonstances objectives que nous déclarons la guerre civile contre eux.

Si, de nous-mêmes, nous déclarons la guerre civile, comme les guérilleros le font, notre action prend le caractère d'une aventure malheureuse qui aide les réactionnaires.

Ce qui est nécessaire plus que jamais, c'est la mobilisation et l'unité des masses ouvrières et des organisations armées de façon à ce que nous puissions nous défendre dans la rue contre les attaques paragouvernementales des gangs armés. En même temps, nous devons dénoncer systématiquement ces gangs pour démontrer que ce sont eux, et non nous, qui utilisent des méthodes terroristes.

QUESTION: Quelle est la probabilité immédiate d'un coup?

REPONSE: Si les guérilleros augmentent considérablement leurs actions et que la police ne peut leur tenir tête, la possibilité d'un coup comme celui au Chili ou comme celui en Uruguay va en résulter bientôt. Plus probablement, ce serait la variante uruguayenne, sauf dans une situation extrême et inhabituelle.

Pour le moment, nous ne voyons aucune probabilité d'un coup. Nous ne devons pas oublier que le gouvernement actuel est une conséquence indirecte de la défaite infligée à la dictature militaire par la classe ouvrière. Ce n'était pas une défaite totale; c'était partiel et négocié. Mais c'était une défaite.

Cet état de choses est diamétralement opposé à la situation au Brésil, en Uruguay, ou au Chili avant que les coups militaires ne surviennent. Dans ces pays, les prises de pouvoir militaires sont arrivées après plusieurs, pas deux ou trois, années de démocratie bourgeoise. Cela ne signifie nullement que nous aurons plusieurs années de démocratie bourgeoise. Cela signifie seulement que jusqu'à maintenant, la bourgeoisie et les forces armées n'ont pas décidé de changer leur direction.

Un changement brusque dans la lutte de classe -- qui peut survenir dans la prochaine période, depuis que le mouvement ouvrier a gardé intacte sa capacité de lutter -- mettrait une fois encore la possibilité d'un coup à l'ordre du jour.

QUESTION: Quelle est la position du PST sur l'invitation du président à une conférence nationale, qui était étendue à tous les partis politiques aussi bien qu'aux syndicats et aux organisations bourgeoises?

REPONSE: Bien sûr, nous avons accepté. Pour plusieurs raisons.

Premièrement, c'est un meeting officiel à caractère semi-parlementaire. Ne pas y assister signifierait risquer la légalité que notre parti a gagné avec tant de difficultés.

Deuxièmement, 98% du mouvement ouvrier appuie le gouvernement actuel. C'est un appui critique, et il s'érode, mais c'est un appui. Nous voulons, et nous cherchons, des opportunités pour confronter publiquement un gouvernement qui jouit de l'appui du mouvement ouvrier. Notre but dans de tels rassemblements est de démontrer que le gouvernement est l'ennemi de classe des travailleurs.

La troisième raison est que nous considérons un des grands avantages de la légalité comme étant une chance qu'elle nous donne de publiciser les positions du parti à l'intérieur de la classe ouvrière. De tels meetings sont utiles pour cela. Des millions de travailleurs apprennent nos positions par le biais des médias d'information.

QUESTION: Que fait le PST présentement?

REPONSE: J'ai déjà été trop long, aussi je donnerai -- presque en style "télégraphique" -- trois faits qui vous permettront de tirer vos propres conclusions.

Premièrement, sur les dix régions dans lesquelles notre parti est actif, sans aucun doute la région nord du grand Buenos Aires a reçu le coup le plus intense. C'est là que nos camarades ont été assassinés. A cause des attaques des gangs fascistes, nous avons été forcés de fermer quatre des cinq locaux que nous avions là. Dimanche, le 6 octobre, nous avons réussi une épreuve sévère dans cette région -- en organisant une assemblée générale des membres et des sympathisants ouvriers dans la zone nord.

Pour ces assemblées générales, nous offrons habituellement un dîner, parce que les sessions durent toute la journée. Nous vendons des billets à l'avance aux membres et aux sympathisants. Pour faire le point, 800 billets ont été vendus et 650 camarades ouvriers ont assisté à l'assemblée générale -- ceci dans une région durement attaquée par les réactionnaires. Ce fut un succès complet.

Deuxièmement, notre parti imprime maintenant plus de 25,000 copies d'Avanzada Socialista. Plus de 22,000 sont distribuées aux membres et aux sympathisants, faisant du journal l'hebdomadaire politique le plus influant du pays. Le pourcentage de renouvellement des abonnements est très haut.

Troisièmement, la direction centrale du syndicat de Ledesma est composée des membres du parti. L'un de nos membres était le dirigeant de toute la grève des travailleurs du sucre dans le nord du pays.

Protestation lors des funérailles de trois membres du Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs de l'Argentine assassinés en mai dernier.

La tournée de Hugo Blanco au Canada

"Il faut amorcer une campagne contre la répression en Argentine!"

par SUZANNE CHABOT

Hugo Blanco, révolutionnaire péruvien de renommée mondiale et dirigeant de la Quatrième Internationale, était de passage à Montréal les 5 et 6 décembre derniers, dans le cadre d'une tournée à travers le Canada. Cette tournée, parrainnée par plusieurs groupes de gauche et syndicats, a reçu un accueil chaleureux ainsi qu'un appui substantiel de la part des militants de chacune des villes visitées.

Dès son arrivée à Montréal, Hugo Blanco a donné une conférence de presse dans les locaux du Conseil central de la CSN. Des journalistes montréalais y ont assisté et on a pu remarquer notamment la publication dans Le Jour d'un assez long article expliquant les positions politiques de Hugo Blanco.

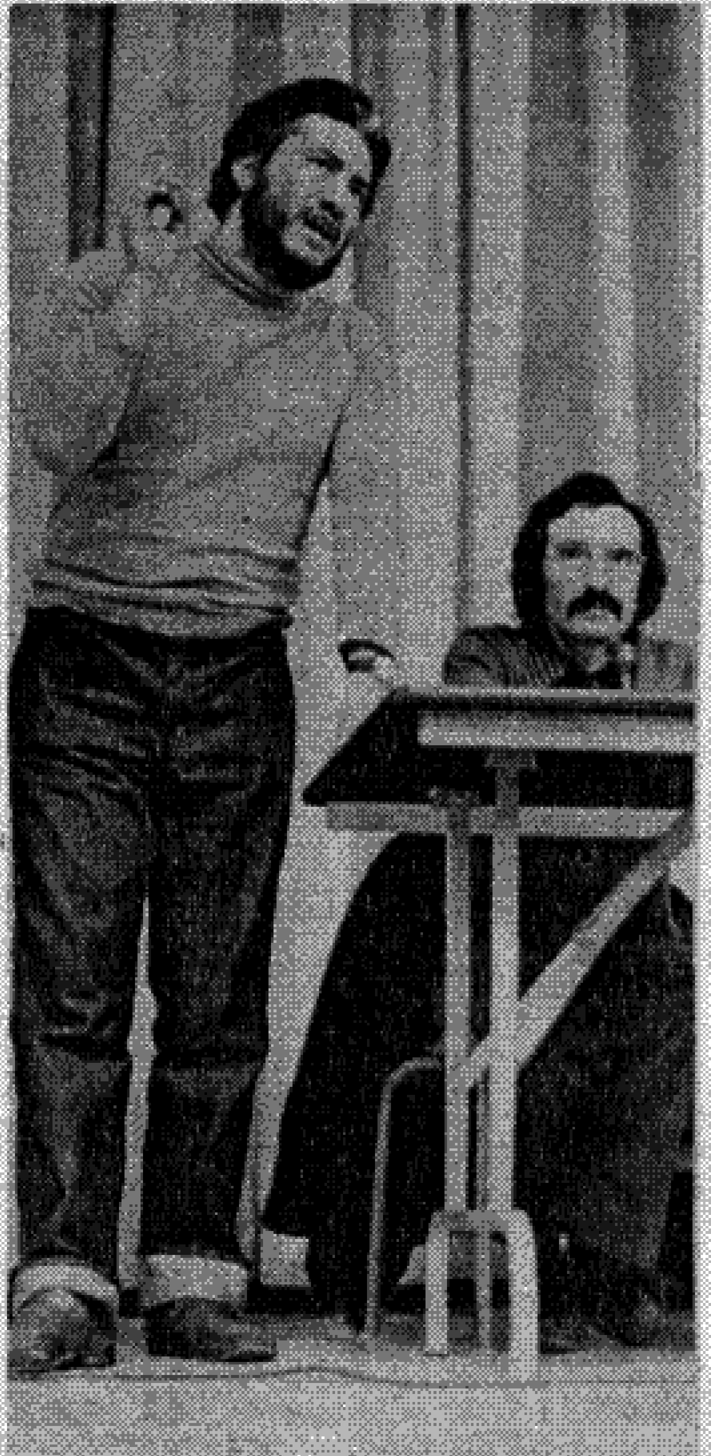
Environ 250 à 300 personnes sont venues entendre Blanco le 5 décembre, lors de la conférence anglophone que celui-ci présentait à l'Université McGill. Sur le côté francophone, à peu près 150 personnes ont répondu à l'invitation. Ces deux conférences traitaient du même sujet: la situation politique en Amérique Latine après le coup d'Etat droitier au Chili.

Hugo Blanco a exposé la nature du régime Allende, c'est-à-dire un gouvernement réformiste de collaboration de classe, et il a expliqué comment la nature-même de ce régime a été la cause du coup d'Etat au Chili. Il a aussi décrit la situation de répression qui existe depuis que la junte militaire a pris le pouvoir. Il a aussi parlé de la résistance clandestine qui, malgré les mesures extrêmes de répression, se développe peu à peu utilisant les moyens restreints qui sont à sa portée. Il a bien expliqué qu'il s'agissait d'une forme de résistance très primitive, comme par exemple l'organisation de cuisines communautaires, enlevant ainsi l'illusion qu'une résistance armée se développait au Chili.

La tournée de Blanco en était une d'information, mais elle voulait aussi dégager un message bien précis sur la nécessité de la solidarité internationale et sur les effets positifs qui ont découlé des campagnes de solidarité.

"De telles campagnes", a dit Blanco, "constituent un des meilleurs moyens pour faire pression sur un gouvernement et lui arracher ainsi des gains importants. C'est grâce à l'une de ces campagnes de solidarité internationale, si je suis vivant à l'heure actuelle. Aussi, je lance un appel pour qu'une telle campagne soit menée activement contre la répression qui s'amorce en Argentine, pour appuyer le peuple chilien et pour contraindre les gouvernements des pays capitalistes à ouvrir leur porte aux réfugiés."

On a appris après le passage d'Hugo Blanco à Montréal que la campagne de solidarité internationale pour la libération de Luis Vitale avait obtenu gain de cause le 28 novembre dernier.



Déclaration du RMG sur l'unité des trotskystes

L'année dernière a été témoin d'une accélération des mesures vers l'unité parmi plusieurs organisations socialistes au Canada.

L'article suivant, une déclaration du Revolutionary Marxist Group, rapporte les progrès réalisés vers l'unité du RMG et de la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action.

La déclaration du RMG marque un pas en avant qualitatif dans ce processus d'une signification importante pour tous ceux dont le but est de construire une organisation socialiste révolutionnaire de masse dans ce pays.

-- La rédaction

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En 1972-73, le mouvement trotskyste au Canada et au Québec, jusqu'à ce moment unifié dans une organisation pan-canadienne, a traversé une crise politique et organisationnelle profonde. Ceci a mené à la formation de trois groupes affiliés à la Quatrième Internationale: le Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) au Canada; son organisation soeur au Québec, le Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR); et la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action (LSO/LSA). De plus, on a vu l'apparition de plusieurs petits groupes se réclamant du trotskysme tout en restant en dehors de la Quatrième Internationale.

Au cours des derniers mois, les trois groupes de la Quatrième Internationale ont discuté de la possibilité d'une réunification des forces marxistes révolutionnaires à la fois au Canada et au Québec. Ces discussions ont impliqué les positions politiques générales des deux principaux courants du trotskysme canadien et québécois et la possibilité d'une collaboration pratique autour de tâches spécifiques dans la lutte des classes.

Sur la base de ces discussions, le Comité Central du RMG, qui s'est réuni du 29 décembre au 2 janvier, a été d'accord à l'unanimité pour déclarer qu'une base de principe existait pour la réunification des forces trotskystes. En particulier, le Comité Central a noté la convergence des positions sur des questions aussi centrales que le caractère impérialiste du capitalisme canadien, le nationalisme canadien, la lutte de libération nationale au Québec, et la caractérisation programmatique du Nouveau Parti Démocratique.

Un autre facteur important est l'analyse commune des trois groupes concernant le tournant dans la situation politique marqué par la grève politique nationale du 14 octobre et l'élection du Parti Québécois en novembre. En plus d'une évaluation partagée de ces deux événements, chacun a reconnu leur impact en élevant une compréhension commune de la nécessité de l'unité des membres de la Quatrième Internationale. Bien sûr, l'adhésion à la Quatrième Internationale et à son programme de base est un facteur d'une importance fondamentale.

Le Comité Central a aussi produit une autocritique du sectarisme précédent du RMG envers la LSO/LSA.

Donc, le Comité Central se déclare de manière non équivoque en faveur d'une fusion. Qu'est-ce que cela signifie en pratique?

Premièrement, la position du Comité Central n'est pas encore une position du RMG dans son ensemble. Une telle position ne peut être adoptée que par l'ensemble des membres à travers un congrès des délégués de l'organisation. Le vote du Comité Central marque le début d'une discussion sur cette question dans les rangs de l'organisation. Cette discussion se dénouera à un congrès du RMG qui doit avoir lieu plus tard cette année. Un processus parallèle se déroule dans le GMR.

De plus, il n'y a aucune garantie qu'une fusion va vraiment avoir lieu. Il reste encore une multitude de problèmes. Il existe encore des divergences importantes entre la LSO/LSA et le RMG, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les slogans, l'orientation et la tactique vis-à-vis le NPD et la bureaucratie syndicale. Et tout le monde est d'accord sur le fait qu'une fusion doit impliquer au moins une entente partielle sur les tâches pratiques de la construction du parti et de l'intervention dans la lutte des classes. Ceci est particulièrement important étant donné le nombre relativement égal des deux courants au niveau de l'Etat canadien dans son ensemble. D'où l'importance d'une collaboration pratique entre la LSO/LSA, le RMG et le GMR pour vérifier dans la pratique la possibilité d'une fusion.

Le résultat du processus dépend aussi de la solution d'un problème que le RMG et le GMR sont en train de discuter: les relations organisationnelles entre les marxistes révolutionnaires canadiens et québécois. Cette question est aussi débattue dans la discussion pré-congrès des deux organisations.

Néanmoins, il existe une possibilité réelle de solution de principe à la division de la Quatrième Internationale au Canada et au Québec. La direction de la LSO/LSA (qui a assisté à la réunion du Comité Central en tant qu'observatrice) a accueilli la décision du Comité Central du RMG comme étant une ouverture fondamentale et positive.

Le Comité Politique de la LSO/LSA était d'accord avec la position du Comité Central du RMG sur la nécessité d'une fusion. Il a établi le renforcement du travail commun et de la discussion avec le RMG comme une priorité centrale de toutes les branches de la LSO/LSA.

Cette nouvelle situation mène présentement à une intensification de la discussion sur divers problèmes politiques. Au niveau pratique, nous organisons de manière conjointe une tournée au Canada-anglais d'une camarade québécoise de la LSO/LSA et d'un camarade du GMR, dans le but de construire l'appui au droit du Québec à l'autodétermination. De plus, les branches de la LSO/LSA et du RMG dans les Prairies organisent une conférence régionale conjointe sur les questions politiques auxquelles font face la gauche révolutionnaire et le mouvement ouvrier. Il est à espérer qu'une telle collaboration s'étendra aussi à d'autres arènes de travail.

Pour la construction du Parti Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs!

Pour l'unité de la Quatrième Internationale!

Comité Politique du Revolutionary Marxist Group (organisation sympathisante de la Quatrième Internationale).

Début d'un processus de fusion entre la LSO et le GMR

(La déclaration suivante a été émise à Montréal le 24 février dernier.)

1) Les directions respectives du Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) et de la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action (LSO/LSA) annoncent l'ouverture d'un processus de discussions politiques et de collaboration dont l'objectif est la fusion des deux organisations en une nouvelle organisation qualitativement et numériquement supérieure.

2) Ce processus de rapprochement survient à un moment crucial: celui d'une nouvelle période politique suite à la première grève binationale des travailleurs au Canada-anglais et au Québec le 14 octobre, et suite à l'élection d'un gouvernement nationaliste bourgeois du Parti Québécois le 15 novembre. Il est de la plus haute importance que les marxistes révolutionnaires québécois unissent leurs ressources politiques, humaines et matérielles pour une double tâche: 1) combattre les illusions dans le Parti Québécois qui sont très fortes à l'intérieur du mouvement ouvrier organisé et au sein des masses laborieuses; 2) combattre l'opposition d'une grande partie de la gauche (notamment les courants staliniens, soit pro-Pékin, soit pro-Moscou) aux profondes aspirations à l'indépendance nationale chez les masses laborieuses québécoises. Car seule la classe ouvrière sera capable de mener à bien la lutte de libération nationale, en se battant sur tous les fronts contre l'impérialisme canadien et américain et contre les serviteurs québécois du capital. La lutte pour l'indépendance socialiste du Québec serait un stimulant important pour les travailleurs et les minorités nationales opprimées de tout le continent nord-américain. Il faut avancer la perspective de l'unité avec les travailleurs du Canada-anglais sur la base d'une reconnaissance par ces derniers de l'oppression nationale des Québécois et d'un appui au droit des Québécois à l'autodétermination.

3) Depuis 1972, il existe au Québec une situation anormale du point de vue du centralisme démocratique qu'entend pratiquer la Quatrième Internationale: deux organisations, le GMR et la LSO/LSA ont développé leur travail de façon indépendante et souvent contradictoire, tout en se réclamant du programme révolutionnaire et de l'organisation de la Quatrième Internationale. Au cours de la dernière année, il y a eu diverses activités communes aux deux organisations, ainsi que des débats politiques et des invitations mutuelles à des réunions des directions et des membres des deux organisations. Ce processus a permis un bon départ vers le rapprochement politique dans le mouvement étudiant, le mouvement ouvrier, le travail femmes et la question nationale. La perspective de débattre, voire de surmonter, grâce à une expérience prolongée d'unité dans l'action, les nombreuses divergences qui demeurent entre nous, devient de plus en plus réelle. Une base programmatique de principe existe entre nos deux organisations; les désaccords relèvent plutôt de l'application de ce programme.

4) En conformité avec les décisions du 10e congrès mondial de la Quatrième Internationale visant à unifier les sections et les organisations sympathisantes existant dans un seul pays, le GMR et la LSO/LSA ont décidé de s'engager dans un processus de clarification politique afin de réduire les divergences politiques et tactiques à un niveau compatible avec le fonctionnement centraliste démocratique d'une nouvelle section de la Quatrième Internationale.

Ceci découle de notre compréhension commune de la nécessité d'unir les révolutionnaires du monde entier dans une organisation internationale centraliste démocratique sur la base du programme marxiste révolutionnaire. Les deux organisations s'entendent pour amorcer un débat de clarification sur les rapports qui doivent exister entre les sections nationales et les instances de direction de l'Internationale.

5) Les deux organisations reconnaissent que la fusion ne saurait avoir lieu de façon précipitée. Le passé des deux organisations, leurs positions tactiques et leurs styles de travail fort différents, rendent obligatoire un patient travail en vue de l'adoption du programme révolutionnaire et des statuts communs sur lesquels la nouvelle organisation serait fondée. C'est avant tout le travail pratique commun tant au niveau de la direction des deux organisations que dans tous les domaines possibles, que ces divergences pourront être réduites. Au fur et à mesure que le nombre d'expériences communes augmentera et que les militants verront dans la pratique les avantages de la fusion et la possibilité de la réaliser, la confiance mutuelle se développera et les modalités concrètes de la fusion se préciseront.

6) Le Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), organisation soeur du GMR au Canada-anglais, et la LSO/LSA ont décidé de poursuivre un travail commun et un débat politique en vue d'une fusion sur une base de principe. Cette fusion permettrait aux marxistes révolutionnaires canadiens-anglais de redoubler leur activité en vue de défendre le droit à l'autodétermination de la nation québécoise opprimée et de stimuler la lutte des travailleurs contre la bourgeoisie et l'Etat canadiens.

Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière -

Plus de 200 participants au

Ce premier mai, on a franchi une autre étape dans le processus d'unification des forces trotskystes, tant au Québec qu'au Canada-anglais. A Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver, le Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) ou son organisation soeur au Canada-anglais, le Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) a organisé des fêtes et meetings conjointement avec la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action (LSO/LSA). A Toronto, le 30 avril, 225 personnes ont célébré la fête internationale des travailleurs avec le RMG et la LSO/LSA. La veille, 85 personnes l'avaient fêtée à Vancouver. Une centaine de personnes étaient à la fête à Edmonton et 80 à celle de Winnipeg.

Plus de 200 personnes sont venues au meeting-fête à Montréal le 7 mai, organisé par la LSO et le GMR. Il y avait des discours de représentants de ces deux organisations, suivis de salutations de quelques autres groupes (voir la boîte) et de chansons chiliennes et québécoises, présentées respectivement par des militants du Parti Socialiste Chilien et par Yves Alix. La fête populaire s'est terminée tard, après la danse et la dégustation de vins et fromages.

Attirée par le processus d'unification une bonne partie de l'assistance participait pour la première fois à une activité mise sur pieds par l'une ou l'autre des deux organisations.

L'unité de tous les trotskystes était soulignée aussi par la bonne participation et les salutations du Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec.

Libération reproduit sur ces pages le texte, légèrement abrégé, du discours sur la situation politique, présenté par Richard Poulin, un dirigeant de la LSO. Nous publions aussi le texte qui a servi de base à Colette Boucher, une dirigeante du GMR, pour sa présentation sur les perspectives d'unification entre les deux organisations.

RICHARD POULIN de la LSO Stuart Russell

La situation politique actuelle: Richard Poulin

Si vous voulez savoir ce que la classe dominante canadienne considère comme point central de son offensive contre les masses, vous n'avez qu'à regarder quels sont les postes confiés à Jean-Luc Pépin. L'année passée, il dirigeait la Commission fédérale anti-inflation. Son travail consistait à réduire les salaires des centaines de milliers de travailleurs. Mais tout récemment il a démissioné de son poste. Et Trudeau a annoncé la semaine dernière un nouvel emploi encore plus important pour Pépin: Commissaire général pour l'unité canadienne!

Comme on le voit, le gouvernement canadien, contrairement à Radio-Canada, n'utilise pas les taxes des contribuables pour promouvoir des buts politiques partisans! Voyons, il dépense notre argent sur des projets non-partisans comme par exemple, tenter d'empêcher les Québécois de gagner l'indépendance. Même avant de mettre Pépin à ce nouveau poste de responsabilité gouvernemental, la bourgeoisie canadienne avait déjà fait un très bon *travail dans sa campagne chauvine* contre les Québécois. L'effervescence autour du récent projet de loi numéro 1 du PQ est un bon exemple.

C'est moins le contenu de cette loi, que la présente situation politique qui dérange la bourgeoisie canadienne. Nous n'avons plus un gouvernement stable, bien contrôlé et aussi dépendant que celui de Bourassa. Québec, depuis le 15 novembre dernier, est gouverné par un parti nationaliste bourgeois. Le PQ est arrivé au pouvoir avec, comme toile de fond, une radicalisation des travailleurs.

Pour la bourgeoisie canadienne, cette situation politique est dangereuse. En fait, elle connaît actuellement un crise de son Etat fédéral, peut-être la plus grave de son histoire. Le Québec est l'élément déstabilisateur de son Etat -- de sa Confédération. Elle a créé sa Confédération en 1867, sur la base de l'oppression des francophones. Actuellement, le mouvement pour l'indépendance nationale du Québec remet en cause les fondements mêmes de son Etat.

La victoire du PQ pose un dilemne pour la classe dirigeante. Qu'elle fasse n'importe quoi, d'une façon ou d'une autre, elle encourage le mouvement indépendantiste, ce qui peut expliquer l'hystérie sur le projet de loi concernant la langue. Cette hystérie, bien orchestrée, fait partie d'une campagne chauvine plus large contre le droit des Québécois à l'autodétermination.

Malheureusement, le projet de loi no. 1 n'est pas aussi radical que les éditorialistes le prétendent. Il propose la francisation de toutes les compagnies avec plus de 100 employés. Mais si les compagnies n'appliquent pas la loi, elles auront à faire face à des amendes ridicules de $50 à $5,000.

Seules des mesures radicales peuvent défendre les droits linguistiques des Québécois: des mesures telles la nationalisation des compagnies qui détournent la loi et un système d'éducation unique, public et français pour tous.

Bien sûr, tous les partisans des droits nationaux des Québécois doivent défendre les mesures positives de la loi, ainsi que le droit de l'Assemblée nationale du Québec de légiférer une telle loi. Mais le PQ ne résoudra pas, avec cette loi, la question linguistique. Car, aussi longtemps que le capital anglo-canadien et américain domine au Québec, les Québécois seront forcés de parler l'anglais ou bien de rester les travailleurs les moins bien payés.

Après la victoire du PQ, il y avait l'espoir de vivre mieux. Les gens avaient confiance que le PQ travaillerait à leur bien être car il devait avoir un "préjugé favorable aux travailleurs". Mais déjà on a commencé à voir une certaine désillusion concernant le gouvernement péquiste.

Le PQ a démontré qu'il servait bien la classe dominante en imposant un budget d'austérité aux masses laborieuses. Il propose de dégager $80 millions pour créer 9,500 emplois temporaires alors qu'il y a plus de 300,000 chômeurs au Québec. Le taux de dépenses globales du gouvernement diminuera de 16% à 12.5%. Ceci signifie des coupures de budget dans les services sociaux. Ce qui implique une moins bonne qualité de soins hospitaliers, moins de garderies, etc.

Il y a une forte opposition chez les travailleurs contre le nouveau budget. La CSN, la FTQ et la CEQ n'ont pas du tout été satisfaites par ces mesures d'austérité. La même déception fut exprimée vis-à-vis du projet péquiste d'assurance automobile. Les assurés au même tarif seront moins bien protégés. Encore une fois, ce sont les gagne-petit qui écopent des mesures péquistes.

A cause des illusions dans le PQ, il y a eu peu de luttes immédiatement après l'élection du PQ. Mais cela a commencé à changer. Il y a eu plusieurs manifestations significatives des femmes, des étudiants, des travailleurs et des chômeurs.

Le sommet économique, convoqué pour la fin de mai est la plus importante question pour le mouvement ouvrier. Il a comme but de permettre aux syndicats, au patronat et au gouvernement de se rencontrer afin d'établir un plan pour améliorer la santé économique du Québec. Le but du PQ est de faire un pacte social avec les "forces économiques" en présence, c'est donc dire que le PQ, après son budget d'austérité, veut faire accepter aux centrales syndicales un "contrôle volontaire" des salaires. Les trois centrales ont décidé de participer au sommet économique. Mais à divers niveaux, elles ont pris quelques distances vis-à-vis du gouvernement.

La participation au sommet économique du PQ veut dire que les syndicats ont une responsabilité dans la remise sur pied de l'économie québécoise. Les organisations ouvrières n'ont pas à modérer leurs revendications afin de permettre aux patrons d'augmenter leurs profits. Au lieu de participer au sommet économique, les centrales devraient organiser un appui militant en faveur des grévistes des minoteries et de tous ceux qui luttent.

Les luttes actuelles à l'opposé des tentatives du gouvernement d'attacher les syndicats à un contrat social, posent, pour l'ensemble des organisations ouvrières, la rupture avec les partis politiques capitalistes et son action politique indépendante. Dans ce sens, le GMR et la LSO luttent pour l'action politique indépendante du mouvement ouvrier. La LSO réclame un parti politique des travailleurs lancé par les centrales syndicales, parti qui aurait comme tâche de défendre les intérêts des travailleurs et les droits nationaux des Québécois.

Nos tâches sont donc claires: nous luttons pour un gouvernement des travailleurs car nous ne mettrons pas fin à l'oppression nationale, nous n'aurons pas une réelle indépendance du Québec, sans l'expulsion de l'impérialisme, sans l'abolition de la propriété privée capitaliste, sans une prise en main par les travailleurs eux-mêmes de l'économie et du pouvoir.

Cette lutte pour un Québec Indépendant et Socialiste, pour la République des Travailleurs du Québec, se combine avec notre tâche, au Canada-anglais, de la défense intransigeante du droit à l'autodétermination des Québécois.

(annonce)

Participez à la campagne de fonds de la LSO

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action (LSO/LSA) est en pleine campagne pour ramasser $10,000 d'ici la fin de juin, dont $1300 au Québec.

Pourquoi demandons-nous votre aide?

La LSO/LSA est une organisation bi-nationale qui cherche à gagner la majorité au programme socialiste. Notre but est la construction d'un parti révolutionnaire de masse.

Nous nous rangeons du côté de tous ceux qui luttent contre les injustices du système capitaliste.

Une nouvelle situation politique s'est ouverte suite à la grève d'un million de travailleurs québécois et canadiens-anglais du 14 octobre et suite à l'élection du PQ le 15 novembre. Elle pose de nouveaux défis à tous les groupes socialistes révolutionnaires.

Voilà l'importance, l'urgence de l'unification des forces trotskystes. Le processus de fusion entre les trois organisations de la Quatrième Internationale au Canada et au Québec -- la LSO/LSA, le Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire et le Revolutionary Marxist Group -- va bon train. Nous continuons aussi notre travail en commun et nos discussions politiques avec le Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec.

Mais tous ces efforts exigent de plus grandes ressources humaines et matérielles. Votre contribution aidera à accélérer la réalisation de l'unification des trotskystes.

Nous avons aussi d'autres projets. Nous voulons augmenter nos contributions aux Editions d'Avant-Garde et au journal Libération. Ces publications jouent un rôle indispensable dans la propagation de nos idées socialistes.

Libération a récemment aménagé ses bureaux, a mis en place une chambre noire et a acheté une nouvelle machine à titres. Il prévoit également compléter son équipement technique afin d'améliorer la présentation du journal.

Toutes ces choses coûtent très cher! Evidemment, ce sont des étudiants et des travailleurs et non les capitalistes qui contribuent à nos campagnes de fonds. Donc nous comptons sur vous.

(découpez et retournez à la LSO, 226 est Ste-Catherine, Montréal H2X 1L1.)

Je veux faire une contribution de ( ) $500 ( ) $200 ( ) $100 ( ) $50 ( ) $25 ( ) $10 ( ) $5 à la campagne de fonds de 1977 de la LSO/LSA.

NOM ____________________

ADRESSE ____________________

TEL ____________________

Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire

meeting-fête des trotskystes

L'unification des trotskystes: Colette Boucher

Plus que jamais l'évolution de la situation politique au Québec, les développements spectaculaires de la lutte des classes, dont le camarade Richard vient de parler, imposent des tâches d'une ampleur nouvelle à tous ceux qui sont convaincus que le socialisme est la seule solution à la crise actuelle de l'humanité, que la classe ouvrière est la seule apte à mener jusqu'au bout les tâches qui en découlent.

Toute l'histoire des luttes de la classe ouvrière, toutes les leçons qu'on peut tirer de ces combats sans merci, nous amènent à la conclusion de l'indispensable nécessité de la lutte pour la construction d'un parti révolutionnaire des travailleurs.

A une époque où l'impérialisme coordonne, à l'échelle internationale, ses efforts contre-révolutionnaires, le Chili l'a tragiquement montré, un tel parti doit être parti prenant de la construction d'une Internationale révolutionnaire. La Quatrième Internationale est le noyau d'une telle Internationale révolutionnaire de masse.

Françoise Stake

Colette Boucher (à gauche dans la photo) anime le contingent du GMR et de la LSO à la manifestation du premier mai.

C'est dans ce combat que se sont engagés les militants et militantes de la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière et du Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire.

Tous les deux, nous nous réclamons de la tradition historique et vivante de la Quatrième Internationale.

C'est cet attachement commun au programme de la révolution socialiste, qui a fait que sur toutes les questions les plus fondamentales que la lutte des classes a posées aux révolutionnaires depuis quelques temps, nos deux organisations ont avancé des réponses similaires, sinon identiques. Ainsi, en est-il de la nécessité de lier de façon permanente la perspective de l'indépendance du Québec à celle du socialisme.

Voilà pourquoi, lors du congrès de la LSO en décembre 1975 et lors de celui du GMR en septembre dernier, les militants et militantes des deux groupes ont décidé de faire le maximum pour construire une nouvelle organisation, pour unifier nos forces actuelles vers une organisation dont le poids politique et numérique serait sans commune mesure avec ce que nous sommes séparément.

Cette décision, que l'attachement à des buts historiques communs rendait déjà possible, a été considérablement renforçée par toute l'évolution récente, par toutes les possibilité nouvelles qui s'ouvrent présentement pour le mouvement ouvrier et les masses au Québec.

Dans cette démarche, deux fausses conceptions, symétriquement opposées doivent être rejetées!

D'abord, il y a la démarche sectaire, bureaucratique, dogmatique. Nous ne croyons pas, de part et d'autre, posséder la "ligne juste", qui serait toute tracée d'avance et par rapport à laquelle il faudrait à tout prix gagner intégralement l'autre organisation, sous peine d'excommunication.

Mais il y a aussi la démarche opportuniste, que nous devons rejeter tout aussi clairement. De fusionner rapidement, sans pourparlers, ce serait une erreur.

Le processus d'unification dans lequel nous avançons, doit être basé sur un accord sur les principes, c'est-à-dire sur les tâches centrales que nous pose l'accomplissement d'une révolution socialiste ici.

L'organisation que nous cherchons à construire ne doit pas être pour autant un bloc monolithique, d'où aurait disparu tout débat, toute divergence. "Démocratie et liberté de discussion à l'intérieur, mais unité totale dans l'action", voilà un acquis du léninisme que nous reprenons de façon intégrale.

Dans ce cadre, nous croyons que deux éléments sont centraux à l'heure actuelle: rechercher et provoquer l'unité d'action la plus large, partout où il y a accord politique sur les tâches, entre nos deux groupes et débattre le plus systématiquement possible de nos acquis respectifs.

Déjà toute une série d'expériences positives de travail en commun a contribué à nous rapprocher considérablement. Par exemple, dans la lutte des femmes contre leur oppression, et plus particulièrement, dans la campagne pour l'avortement libre et gratuit, notre accord a pu être concrétisé par un meeting unitaire le 11 mars dernier, et par un contingent commun à l'importante manifestation du 2 avril.

Aussi, deux de nos camarades, Suzanne Chabot de la LSO et Jean-Paul Pelletier du GMR ont entrepris en mars dernier une tournée à travers tout le Canada-anglais, de Vancouver à Toronto, pour défendre le droit des Québécois à l'autodétermination. Cette tournée, qui a obtenu un grand succès, était organisée par nos camarades canadiens du Revolutionary Marxist Group et de la LSO/LSA. Elle a considérablement contribué à renforcer le processus de fusion dans lequel eux aussi sont engagés.

Nous pourrions multiplier les exemples, mais l'actuel meeting, et de façon plus générale toute notre campagne commune autour du premier mai cette année, est un autre exemple convaincant.

Les discussions de fusion entre le GMR et la LSO sont un premier pas vers la construction du parti révolutionnaire, du pôle trotskyste au Québec.

Comme au Québec, la Quatrième Internationale devient de plus en plus un pôle révolutionnaire bien attirant pour des partis et des organisations de différents pays. Il y a eu d'autres fusions au niveau international. Il y a eu des discussions de rapprochement avec différentes organisations, par exemple, en France et en Espagne.

Il y a également à un autre niveau, des discussions avec le Comité d'Organisation pour la Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale, dont le GSTQ fait partie. A ce niveau là, déjà la perspective d'unité d'action à certains endroits, dans certains pays peut être envisagée.

Cette fusion sera ainsi une étape considérable, non seulement pour les révolutionnaires, mais pour tous ceux, travailleurs avancés, militantes du mouvement femmes, étudiants, qui sont à la recherche d'un pôle authentiquement révolutionnaire et internationaliste. Ce sera une étape importante dans la construction du parti révolutionnaire dans le but de lutter pour l'indépendance socialiste, pour la République des Travailleurs du Québec et pour construire la Quatrième Internationale!

Les salutations

A la fête du 7 mai, quatre groupes ont présenté leurs salutations.

Un représentant du Comité de Coordination Régional du Parti Socialiste Chilien a expliqué l'importance de la lutte au Chili et en Amérique latine pour le socialisme et a demandé la solidarité des participants à la fête.

Les salutations du Rassemblement des Jeunes pour la Socialisme étaient présentées par Rénald Desharnais. Il a invité tous les participants au meeting-fête à assister à la prochaine assemblée publique du RJS, le 21 juin, au sujet du chômage chez les jeunes. Il a remercié le GMR et la LSO de leur invitation au RJS et leur a souhaité "la plus grande unité dans le combat pour l'indépendance politique des travailleurs et de la jeunesse dans le combat pour la réalisation de leurs revendications".

Normand Guèvremont du Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec a souligné l'importance des luttes des travailleurs à l'échelle internationale, notamment au Portugal, en Espagne, au Chili, en Argentine, ainsi que celle contre la bureaucratie en Pologne.

"C'est sous l'enseigne du refus de la collaboration de classe, pour la création du parti des travailleurs basé sur les organisations syndicales, et pour la lutte pour le socialisme, que le GSTQ a fêté cette année le premier mai. C'est pour ce combat que les camarades du GSTQ sont ici ce soir avec vous pour célébrer la fête internationale des travailleurs."

Beverly Bernardo, parlant au nom du Comité Politique de la LSO/LSA, a aussi apporté les salutations du RMG. Elle a parlé du progrès dans le processus d'unification de ces deux organisations au Canada-anglais et du travail des deux pour défendre le droit des Québécois à l'autodétermination.

GROUPE MARXISTE REVOLUTIONNAIRE
LIGUE SOCIALISTE OUVRIERE
ORGANISATIONS DE LA QRIEME INTERNATIONALE
NON
NON AU BILL C-24
Avortement Libre Gratuit
DEFENDONS LES DROITS
GMR/LSO
gmr/lso
Michel Lambert

Le contingent unitaire du GMR et de la LSO à la manifestation du premier mai est un exemple des actions communes entreprises récemment dans le processus d'unification des deux organisations de la Quatrième Internationale au Québec.

la construction du parti révolutionnaire des travailleurs

qu'est ce qu'une fusion de principe?

Depuis plus d'un an, il est largement question "d'unité", de fusion au sein des organisations de gauche au Québec.

D'abord, bien sûr, l'éternel et très confus débat sur l'unité des "ml". Au delà des formules creuses, ronflantes du genre "se démasquer pour mieux s'unir" ou encore, plus obscurantiste style "un se divise en deux", très profond n'est-ce pas, le fameux débat sur l'unité des "ml" n'a pas progressé d'un pouce. Les principaux protagonistes, En Lutte! et la LCMLC n'ont pas encore réussi à s'entendre sur la question centrale: Comment s'unir? Mieux, de plus en plus, les étiquettes surgissent de part et d'autre: révisionniste!, petit bourgeois enragé!, opportuniste!, dogmatique!, et comble de l'horreur, trotskyste! Bientôt ce sera: agent objectif de la bourgeoisie! puis, valet conscient de la police!

Le "débat" des "ml" n'en est plus un. Il s'agit en effet d'une véritable orgie de sectarisme où les polémistes, de part et d'autre ne cherchent qu'à liquider l'autre organisation et non pas d'en construire une nouvelle sur une nouvelle base de principe.

NOTRE DEMARCHE

Au départ de l'actuel processus de fusion entre nos deux organisations, GMR—LSO, il fut clairement entendu de rejeter catégoriquement deux fausses conceptions. La première, sectaire, consiste à se concentrer uniquement sur le débat politique en refusant l'unité dans l'action. A se tourner sur le passé et non évaluer les nouvelles tâches ouvertes par la période. Enfin, à ériger au rang de principes les désaccords tactiques ou les différentes traditions organisationelles. La seconde, opportuniste, relègue le débat politique à l'arrière plan pour se concentrer uniquement sur les tâches concrètes immédiates. Notre méthode vise à combiner dialectiquement à la fois le débat politique sur les thèmes centraux à une mise en commun des expériences concrètes allant jusqu'à l'unité dans l'action.

FUSIONNER... SUR QUELLE BASE

Une fusion de principe n'est pas une simple addition mathématique de plusieurs conceptions politiques et organisationelles mais bien la synthèse de deux expériences. En ce sens, la nouvelle organisation, si les congrès des deux organisations décident la fusion, sera un saut qualitatif, une nouvelle formation politique résolument tournée vers l'avenir.

Pour les marxistes révolutionnaires, le terrain de l'action politique révolutionnaire comprend plusieurs niveaux liés dialectiquement mais qui conservent une certaine autonomie. Le premier niveau est celui des principes élémentaires du marxisme révolutionnaire tel la nature de l'Etat, le rôle central de la classe ouvrière dans le processus révolutionnaire, la nécessité de la violence révolutionnaire et de la dictature du prolétariat. Ces questions de principe séparent les courants révolutionnaires authentiques des courants centristes et réformistes. **L'entente absolue sur ces thèmes est un préalable à toute fusion de principe.**

Le deuxième niveau touche les questions stratégiques et programmatiques centrales. En ce sens l'objectif central des deux organisations est l'avènement de l'indépendance socialiste, la République des Travailleurs du Québec. Les deux organisations reconnaissent également la nécessité de construire un Parti Révolutionnaire de type léniniste, partie prenante de la Quatrième Internationale pour atteindre cet objectif. **L'accord sur les grands objectifs stratégiques et les axes centraux du programme révolutionnaire est également un préalable à une fusion de principe.**

Le troisième niveau, celui de la tactique, n'est, en dernière analyse, que la concrétisation des premiers à la lumière de l'analyse concrete de la situation concrète. Une formation politique de type léniniste non seulement tolère mais encourage les débats démocratiques à ce niveau. C'est également, à ce niveau que nos deux organisations ont le plus de divergences mais rien n'empêche de mener ces débats dans un cadre organisationnel commun, s'il y a accord principiel, stratégique et programmatique. Les prochains congrès des deux organisations auront à trancher si un tel accord existe. Si tel est le cas, aucun obstacle politique central n'empêchera la fusion de principe des organisations de la IVième Internationale. Le vieux dicton populaire dit qu'on juge un arbre à ses fruits. En rejetant la méthode sectaire et opportuniste du processus de rapprochement et de fusion, les deux organisations seront en mesure, malgré les obstacles, de construire une nouvelle organisation politiquement, organisationellement, numériquement plus forte.

COMBAT
SOCIALISTE
pour la république des travailleurs du québec

Aux congrès d'août du GMR, de la LSO/LSA et du RMG:

L'unification des forces révolutionnaires sera à l'ordre du jour

Nos lecteurs peuvent remarquer que ce numéro est bien spécial. Combat Socialiste et Libération ensemble avec un supplément de quatre pages en commun! Pourquoi?

Deux grands évènements politiques ont transformé la situation politique au Québec et au Canada récemment. L'instauration du contrôle des salaires par la loi C—73 a donné naissance à la première grève pan-canadienne, grève qui a mobilisé plus d'un million de travailleurs canadiens et québécois contre le gouvernement fédéral.

L'élection du Parti Québécois le 15 novembre a eu un aussi grand impact. Cet évènement a provoqué une crise à l'intérieur de la Confédération canadienne. Depuis la bourgeoisie canadienne tente d'entraîner les travailleurs canadiens-anglais dans une campagne réactionnaire, chauvine, anti-québécoise. Il est plus urgent que jamais pour les travailleurs du Canada-anglais d'appuyer sans condition le droit des Québécois à l'autodétermination.

L'expérience des travailleurs québécois avec le nouveau gouvernement péquiste a déjà brisé certaines illusions. Mais la nécessité pour les travailleurs de rompre définitivement avec le PQ et tous les partis bourgeois est loin d'être comprise par la majorité.

Voilà des défis critiques devant les révolutionnaires québécois et canadiens-anglais.

La nécessité de l'unification des organisations de la Quatrième Internationale du Canada-anglais et du Québec est posée de manière urgente. Le Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire, le Revolutionary Marxist Group et la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action réagissent face à cette nécessité.

Depuis plusieurs mois, ces organisations travaillent ensemble. Dans le mouvement étudiant et pour construire le mouvement des femmes et la lutte pour l'avortement libre et gratuit, le GMR et la LSO collaborent depuis plusieurs mois. Le 1er mai, les deux groupes ont organisé ensemble un contingent de plus de 200 personnes, avec un tract commun.

Le RMG et la LSA ont aussi organisé une tournée au Canada-anglais de deux dirigeants du GMR et de la LSO pour présenter le point de vue socialiste sur la situation au Québec. Plus récemment, les deux organisations ont participé conjointement à une manifestation anti-nucléaire en Saskatchewan et à une manifestation à Toronto pour le retrait du projet de loi C—24 qui brimerait les droits des immigrants.

A la fin de juillet et au début d'août, le RMG la LSO/LSA et le GMR vont tenir des congrès où la question de la fusion de leurs effectifs sera considérée et soumise au vote des membres des trois organisations. L'organisation de jeunesse trotskyste, la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/Young Socialists organise également un congrès pour considérer sa position face à la fusion proposée.

Ces congrès seront donc confrontés à une question dont l'importance est sans précédent dans l'histoire récente de la Quatrième Internationale au Québec et au Canada- anglais.

Sans préjuger de l'issue des congrès, car ce sont les membres qui trancheront la question, Libération et Combat Socialiste ont voulu, avec ce numéro spécial, permettre à leurs lecteurs de mieux comprendre l'accord politique large qui existe entre le GMR et la LSO/LSA ainsi que l'étape actuelle du processus d'unification.

L'unification de ces deux groupes trotskystes québécois marquerait un saut qualitatif pour les forces luttant pour un Québec indépendant et socialiste et pour la République des Travailleurs du Québec.

POUR UN QUEBEC INDEPENDANT ET SOCIALISTE
libération

La nécessité d'un parti mondial: pourquoi la IVe Internationale?

Nous vivons au XXième siècle. A l'âge de l'impérialisme décadent qui tente d'entraîner dans sa chute l'humanité toute entière. A cette perspective, les révolutionnaires opposent celle d'une société socialiste qui mettrait fin à toute forme d'oppression et d'exploitation et qui serait basée sur les besoins humains de la majorité plutôt que sur les profits d'une minorité.

Le Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire, GMR, le Revolutionary Marxist Group, RMG, et la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action, LSO/LSA, trois organisations trotskystes au Québec et au Canada-anglais, luttent pour l'établissement d'un Québec indépendant et socialiste, la République des Travailleurs du Québec, et pour un Canada socialiste.

Mais ces trois organisations ne se limitent pas à ces buts; elles sont aussi internationalistes et adhèrent toutes trois à la Quatrième Internationale, le parti mondial de la révolution socialiste, fondé par Léon Trotsky, en 1938.

La Quatrième Internationale et ses sections défendent les luttes des peuples opprimés et exploités à travers le monde, à partir des mouvements de libération nationale dans le monde colonial, par exemple en Afrique, des luttes des travailleurs et des couches opprimées dans les pays capitalistes avancés, par exemple en Espagne, jusqu'au mouvement pour la démocratie ouvrière en Union Soviétique, en Europe de l'est et en Chine.

Bien que des conflits opposent les classes dirigeantes des différents pays capitalistes dans leur lutte acharnée aux superprofits, celles-ci sont toujours prêtes à se constituer en bloc solide contre toute tentative des travailleurs et des masses opprimées pour améliorer leur sort.

Voilà pourquoi il est essentiel que les travailleurs et les opprimés de tous les pays s'unissent contre le système mondial qu'est le capitalisme.

Un Québec socialiste et un Canada socialiste ne peuvent se développer que dans un monde socialiste, exempt de pauvreté, de guerres et de domination impérialiste. C'est pour cette raison que le GMR, le RMG et la LSO/LSA adhèrent à la Quatrième Internationale.

Ces trois organisations considèrent que la Quatrième Internationale, ses traditions, ses acquis, son programme, ne représentent qu'une chose: les intérêts historiques du prolétariat mondial dans sa lutte pour l'abolition de l'esclavage salarié, pour la fin de l'exploitation et de l'oppression, pour la révolution socialiste. Elle est l'héritière des traditions de Marx, Engels et Lénine.

Le fait que le GMR, le RMG et la LSO/LSA adhèrent tous au même parti mondial, et la nécessité de regrouper les forces de la Quatrième Internationale au Québec et au Canada-anglais, sont une autre indication de l'urgence d'une fusion principielle entre ces organisations.

interview avec deux militants

prisonniers politiques

Il y a quelques semaines se déroulait la semaine des prisonniers politiques québécois. Pendant cette semaine, une pétition pour la libération des prisonniers des pénitenciers fédéraux a reçu l'appui de milliers de signataires. Plusieurs débats ont eu lieu après des panels organisés par le comité d'information des prisonniers politiques. **LIBERATION** et **COMBAT SOCIALISTE** ont rencontré Pierre Cloutier et Armand Vaillancourt membres du comité exécutif du comité d'information des prisonniers politiques (CIPP)

Pierre-Paul Geoffroy
Gabriel Hudon
Robert Hudon
Rénald Lévesque
Jacques Millette
Paul Rose
Jacques Rose
François Schirm
Francis Simard
Réjean Tremblay
Bernard Lortie

Quest: Quel lien y-a-t-il entre le comité de défense pour les prisonniers politiques mis sur pied en '72 après les mesures de guerre et celui qui existe présentement?

Cloutier: On a continué la lutte mais il n'y a pas de lien en tant que tel dans le sens qu'on a pas continué les structures. Après 72, quand Robert Lemieux, un des avocats des prisonniers po-itiques a été emprisonné, il y a eu une période creuse. Mais le 15 novembre nous a donné une nouvelle vigueur.

Quest: Quel a été votre bilan de a semaine des prisonniers politiques? Est-ce que pour vous l'organisation de la semaine était une première action vers quelque chose de plus grand?

Vaillancourt: La semaine a été très positive, très stimulante. La semaine a servi à élargir la sensibilisation du peuple québécois sur cette question, ce qui était notre objectif au départ. Et on a trouvé que plusieurs personnes se sont ralliées à la cause des prisonniers politiques. On a touché plusieurs couches sociales et beaucoup de mouvements politiques aussi.

Quest: Avez-vous des perspectives pour l'automne? Vous avez présentement un exécutif mais est-ce que vous tenez des assemblées, des réunions plus larges?

Cloutier: Nous sommes présentement dans un processus de discussions. Nous avons une réunion bientôt pour faire le point, planifier les prochaines activités.

Vaillancourt: Il serait illusoire pour nous de prétendre à former un parti politique à ce stade-ci. Nous avons fait beaucoup de contacts pendant la semaine. Nous allons travailler à récupérer toutes les personnes qui sont intéressées à travailler. Nous nous sommes rendus compte que nous n'étions pas assez nombreux pour travailler et nous avons perdu de l'énergie. On voudrait diversifier la structure actuelle, l'élargir, la rendre la plus ouverte possible et si il y a des mouvements de gauche, des personnes intéressées à travailler à la libération des prisonniers politiques, c'est une chose qu'il faut endosser. On a un prétexte pour rallier beaucoup de personnes, le symbole est très fort à l'intérieur de ça.

Cloutier: Le but est de réunir le plus de personnes autour d'un objectif précis. On a pas intérêt à faire une guerre idéologique parce qu'on va se ramasser avec un groupe trop restreint. Si on a un but en commun, c'est de sortir les gars et de changer la structure du capitalisme au socialisme, on a déjà un bon fond à l'intérieur pour s'améliorer.

Quest: Quelles sont les revendications actuelles du CIPP?

Cloutier: Nous demandons la libération conditionnelle sans condition des prisonniers politiques détenus dans les pénitenciers fédéraux. On demande au gouvernement fédéral d'appliquer sa propre loi. On demande aux Québécois de faire pression sur Ottawa pour forcer le gouvernement et la commission des libérations conditionnelles à libérer les prisonniers politiques. Cette dernière, la Commission des libérations conditionnelles, a des pouvoirs énormes, les fonctionnaires qui y travaillent ont des pouvoirs très discrétionnaires. La Commission a elle seule le pouvoir de rejeter, d'accepter ou de suspendre une libération conditionnelle, et ses décisions ne sont pas sujettes à une révision *judiciaire*. Les prisonniers sont donc complètement sous l'emprise de l'arbitraire de la Commission et théoriquement en ce moment tous les prisonniers politiques pourraient être libérés.

LIBERTE POUR LES PRISONNIERS POLITIQUES!

DOSSIER

sur les prisonniers politiques au Québec

Deuxième édition

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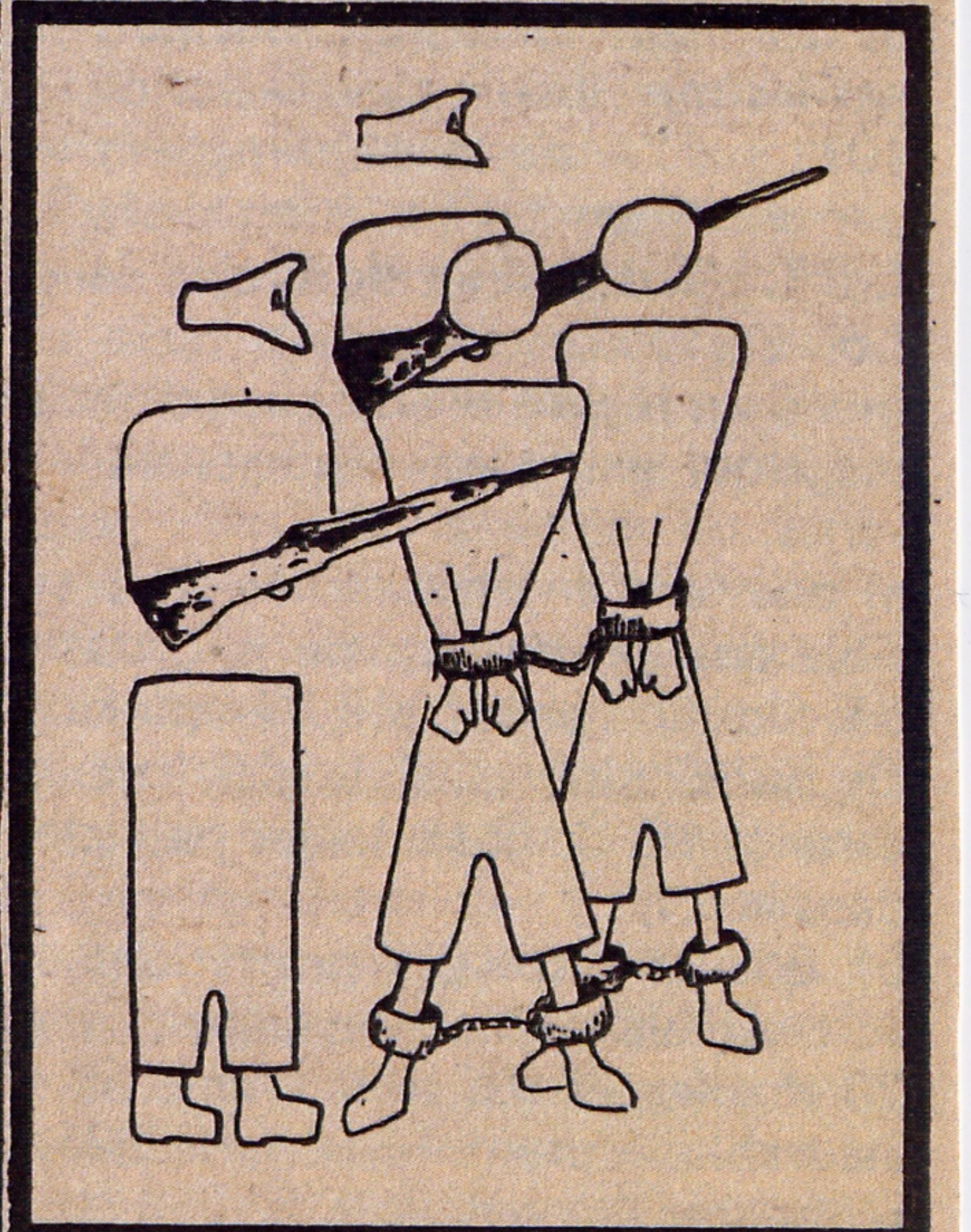

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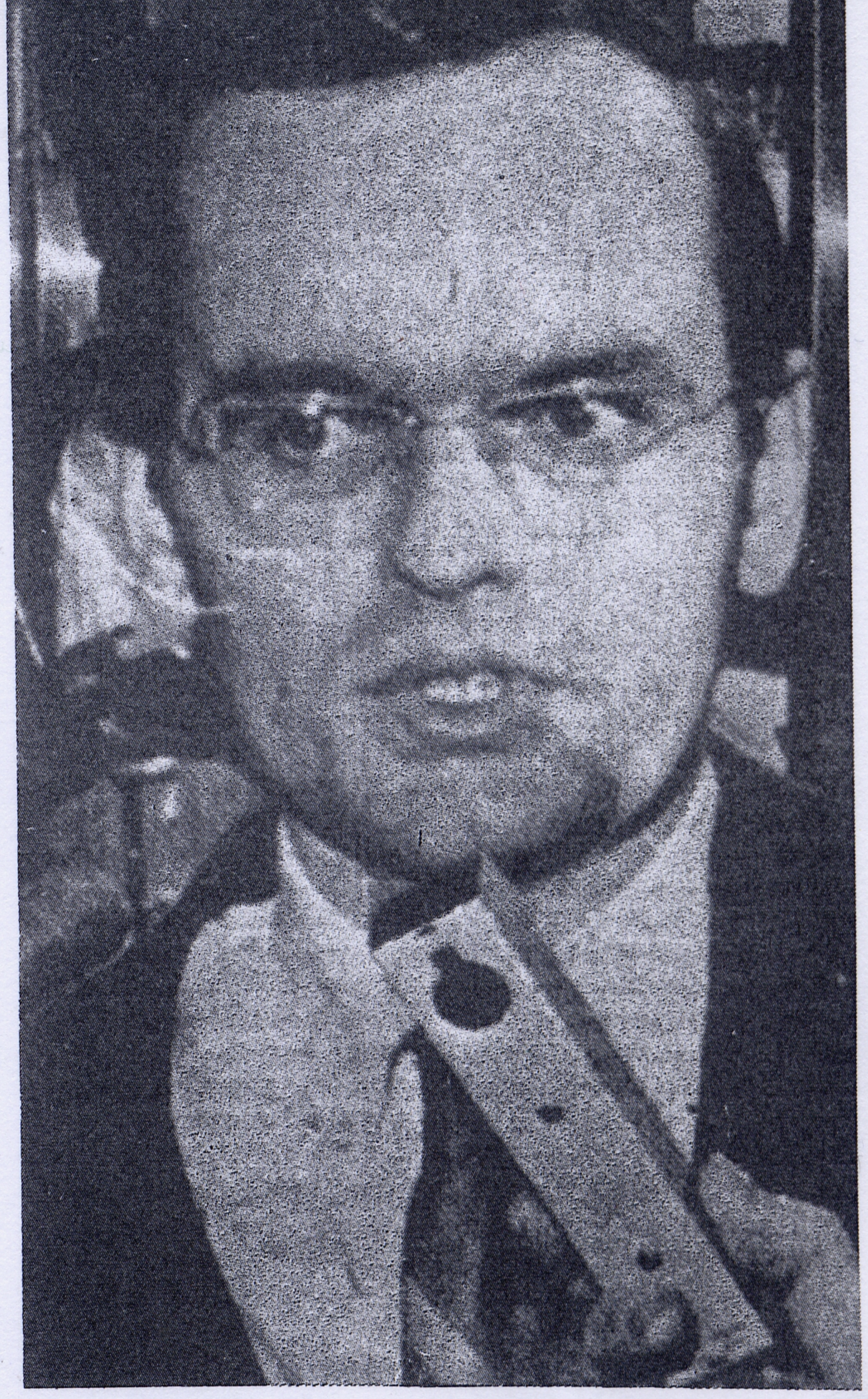
Vallieres' decision

From terrorism to mass action

by Alain Beiner



Pierre Vallieres

In a letter to the editor of the Montreal daily **Le Devoir** in mid-December, Pierre Vallieres, author of the book **White Niggers of America** and leading theoretician of "armed struggle" in Quebec, announced that he was breaking once and for all with the Front de liberation du Quebec (FLQ) and withdrawing all support from it.

This action and the documents written by Vallieres to justify it, confirm in a dramatic and powerful way the failure of the terrorist strategy, a conclusion advanced by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere since the explosion of the first terrorist bomb. After a deep-going reconsideration of the political situation since October 1970, in the light of the lessons of the war measures crisis, Vallieres admits the sterility of the FLQ's strategy, its isolation from the real political life of the masses as well as its profoundly unfortunate results.

Under the impact of the new rise of struggles since the calm of the first months of 1971, and the power of the mass movement for independence and the parallel radicalization of the trade union movement, Vallieres has come to understand the necessity for revolutionaries to participate actively in this mass struggle, in real political life, in order to influence it.

Analyzing the present political conjuncture, Vallieres defines the task of revolutionaries today: educating, organizing and mobilizing the masses, rather than learning to handle arms and plant bombs. To be sure, Vallieres is mistaken when he concludes that it is necessary to join the Parti Quebecois, which he considers to be the vehicle of our liberation. The bourgeois PQ is a deformed expression of the mass movement and an obstacle to the development and mobilization of this same mass movement.

In the articles sent to Montreal newspapers, Vallieres discusses at great length the nationalist character of the mass movement in Quebec, the national consciousness of the masses and its revolutionary dynamic. Testifying to the power of the national question and its central role in Quebec political life, Vallieres has been obliged to orient to the mass nationalist movement and to draw some key conclusions from it that a number of "leftists" in Quebec ignore. For instance, the dual character of the Quebec revolution — nationalist and socialist; the importance of national emancipation to the working class; the impossibility of jumping over or denying the national stage or component of the Quebec revolution; and thus the necessity of including national tasks in the revolutionary program and of incorporating the national struggle into the socialist strategy.

Speaking of the failure of the FLQ's terrorist strategy, Vallieres stated, "If the 'FLQ threat' has for a year been the theme of the public declarations of the authorities, it is because the October crisis showed them how the regime could profit from spectacular explosions which are isolated from any revolutionary strategy. Such actions can be represented plausibly as being an integral part of a long term offensive consistent with a strategy of genuine revolutionary armed struggle when in reality they are nothing of the sort.

"Every action of the FLQ, however minimal and limited, every press release bearing the FLQ insignia, however hare-brained, every 'message' from the FLQ, fictitious or real, takes on in these circumstances a political importance which benefits only those who use the permanent 'FLQ menace' to increase the motivations and the opportunities to club the liberation movement of the Quebec masses, while waiting for the 'big' chance **that will allow them to do everything** in their power to break the back of the movement once and for all.

"If up to October 1970 the armed agitation of the FLQ was the radical expression of the spontaneist and anarchistic character that all national liberation movements have at their inception, it has become today in fact the unconscious but objective ally of the repressive strategy of the regime and thereby, far from constituting a tactical support of the Quebec people's struggle, it runs the risk of contributing to the crushing of this struggle and to the liquidation of its living forces.

"If ever armed struggle could have been justified in the past as revealing a condition of domination and a resolute will to escape from it, armed agitation, just like the unarmed agitation of those who confuse window-breaking with conscious, positive and mass-oriented political action, is today counter-revolutionary."

To those who wonder whether the rejection of "armed agitation" implies necessarily the disappearance of the FLQ itself or whether it would be necessary instead to maintain it as an organization, waiting for a change of the situation that would allow it to play a role in the struggle, Vallieres replies:

"It must be said right away that such a 'waiting' group could never find the tactics adequate to the changing situation in question, since, being cut off from the mass struggle itself, it would voluntarily put itself in a position where it was totally impossible to understand the mechanisms, the transformations, the real level of political consciousness, its composition, etc.; in summary, it would put itself in a situation where it was practically impossible to concretely understand the real evolution of the mass struggle and thus practically impossible to really participate in it, at **whatever stage it may be in the long** and complex process of national and social liberation that the Quebec masses have just begun to launch in a coherent and politically organized manner."

photo by Jeff White

NATIONALISM KEY FACTOR IN RADICALIZATION. Vallieres recognizes progressive significance of Quebecois nationalist movement, but fails to understand role of Parti Quebecois as a detour for independent mass movement. Above, July 1, 1971 mass demonstration against Confederation and for Quebec independence is addressed by Alain Beiner, author of above article.

Apart from his evaluation of the Parti Quebecois, Vallieres' second article, published in the trade union weekly Quebec-Presse, is full of lessons for those among the left who tend to underestimate the national character of the Quebec revolution.

"Some leftists would really like to skip the national stage. They forget that in a colonized society national independence is not one question among others for the workers, but **the most important question**. In fact, the political emancipation of the Quebecois collectivity is **the first condition** for the social emancipation of the workers and the building of socialism (the latter being, in the present period, the only guarantee of independence and development of a 'just society').

"By counterposing class struggle and national struggle one denies the special characteristics and the relative autonomy of each and at the same time their close interaction. One forgets, moreover, that in a situation like ours, in a colonized society which has always been refused the right to constitute an independent national State, national liberation is a **priority demand** not only for what is called the petty bourgeoisie but also for the masses who compose the majority of that society.

"The struggle for independence, far from diverting the masses from the conquest of political power and the collective construction of socialism, on the contrary brings them considerably closer to these goals; while on the other hand opposition to the political independence of Quebec could only compromise irremediably their own emancipation.

"Of course, the political independence of Quebec does not in itself constitute a total revolution any more than does the overthrow of a despotic power by armed struggle. Political independence, like the overthrow of a dictatorship, only creates the political and social conditions of a leap forward, a collective liberation which will still have several other stages to go through. . .

"National liberation movements, despite their frequently 'petty-bourgeois' appearance, all contain an enormous revolutionary potential and all proceed from a complex and contradictory dialectical process."

Vallieres takes on those who glorify workers' struggles around purely economic demands, in the hopes that workers will limit themselves to those demands, and who ignore the importance of **politicizing** workers' struggles around demands arising from the national question:

"A certain left unknowingly practices an economism which (like the trade-unionism denounced by Lenin) reduces the political struggle to a series of economic and social demands **without strategic political significance**. While the question of independence has in Quebec a fundamental strategic political significance, this left gives the impression that it considers the right to self-determination only as an **abstract** juridical right. And it equates calling for self-determination with support to 'bourgeois' nationalism.

"Another left, for its part, is so caught up in the **universality of THE** stereotyped class struggle and the **pure** proletarian revolution that it begrudges any "compromise" with the dialectical and **particular** complexity of any concrete process of liberation. It prefers the quiet possession of universal truths to the transformation of a society whose history is not waiting to be written by a Marx or an Althusser before working itself out."

From these altogether correct assertions — the importance of national emancipation and the impossibility of "leaping over" it — Vallieres strays from the Quebec reality when he concludes "that one must envisage the driving role, the dynamic role, that the Parti Quebecois plays and will play increasingly within the movement for national and social emancipation of the Quebecois"; when he concludes that the PQ is the vehicle or at least the "first stage" of the liberation struggle.

First, by counterposing "the electoral process" to armed struggle at the present time, Vallieres restricts himself to a very mechanical analysis of the mass movement, seeing only that "the mass struggle is taking on an electoral form." In this sense Vallieres refuses to see the most significant political expression of this mass movement, namely, the coherent, conscious, organized, mass actions that have taken place outside the electoral process, but which have profoundly influenced

see page 8

...Vallieres falters on PQ

continued from page 5

this process. Vallieres seems to want to deny the revolutionary dynamic of demonstrations, strikes, occupations, etc. — in short, all the mass actions in the streets that Quebec has experienced and which the Parti Quebecois has opposed, including the demonstration for the national language on Oct. 16 and the demonstration against La Presse of Oct. 29, both of them factors in the new radicalization of the workers' movement.

That the mass movement must utilize the electoral process is indisputable, but to say that it ought to limit itself to this process or support a political party that does so and that actively opposes mass actions is a completely different question.

That the mass movement must utilize the electoral process as well, and that it needs a mass political party, a political instrument capable of taking power, is indisputable, but what ought to be the nature of such a political formation? Vallieres is of the opinion that "it is not in the interests of the majority of the Quebecois for the union locals to launch at present a second mass party distinct from the PQ..."

Such a party would distinguish itself from the PQ not by its own "phraseology," as Vallieres claims but by its class nature — it would be free of all ties of dependence on imperialism and its subsidiary, Quebec capitalism. This independence from capitalist interests is indispensable for any formation that seeks to lead the liberation struggle to its conclusion. The petty bourgeois leadership of the PQ does not possess this independence, being bound by many ties to capitalism for its survival in the face of a powerful working class, which would not stop at a simple replacement of anglophone bosses with francophone bosses. That is why the PQ abstains from, and even opposes, mass actions and mobilizations that threaten to go beyond the capitalist framework.

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As Vallieres explains, it is not a question of revolutionaries standing back from the national question, nor of "leaping over" the national tasks, in order to limit workers' action to simple economic questions. It is a question of seeing, as Vallieres does not, that the national tasks in Quebec can only be achieved under the direction of the working class — at the head of the whole nation — and that consequently the resolution of these essential tasks will be the first measure of a socialist government following the seizure of power by the working class in a revolution.

Strikes, demonstrations sweep Argentina

Mass murder of prisoners

The following article appeared in the Sept. 8 issue of the American socialist weekly The Militant. The article has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.

AUG. 30 — Nineteen escaped political prisoners surrendered on Aug. 15 to troops of the Lanusse military dictatorship at the Trelew airport in Patagonia (southern Argentina).

On Aug. 22, a quick burst of gunfire in the Trelew naval-air base ended the lives of 16 of the young Argentine revolutionists. Thirteen died immediately; the regime announced that three more died of wounds within two days. The three remaining prisoners still alive on Aug. 24 were reported to be in serious condition.

Protests in Canada, U.S.

Protests of the Trelew massacre and Allende's initial refusal to grant asylum to the guerrillas were swiftly launched in Canada and the United States. In Montreal, a demonstration Aug. 23 at the Chilean consulate, initiated by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO), was joined by the Mouvement pour la Defense des Prisonniers Politiques au Quebec (MDPPQ), the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire (GMR) and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LJS). A demonstration at the Chilean embassy in Ottawa, sponsored by the Canadian Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners, was held the same day. An ad hoc committee has been founded in Vancouver with plans to establish a continuing defense committee. Its first action was Sept. 1 at the Vancouver courthouse.

Demonstrations in Washington and New York were held Aug. 23 by the U.S.L.A. Justice Committee.

This cold-blooded mass execution has produced a wave of protest against the Lanusse regime throughout Argentina.

Universities across Argentina, the major labor federation — the General Confederation of Labor (CGT — Confederacion General del Trabajo), and the country's massive Peronist movement (followers of exiled former president Juan Peron) have been involved in the protests.

The 19 prisoners had received widespread publicity when they unsuccessfully participated in an Aug. 15 break-out of 25 jailed members of guerrilla organizations from the Rawson federal penitentiary.

Supporters of three guerrilla organizations were involved in the attempt: the ERP (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo — People's Revolutionary Army); the Montoneros (a Peronist commando group); and the FAP (Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas — Peronist Armed Forces).

The guerrillas' aim was to free all 120 political prisoners in the Rawson penitentiary. Apparently only 25 of the prisoners joined in the attempt.

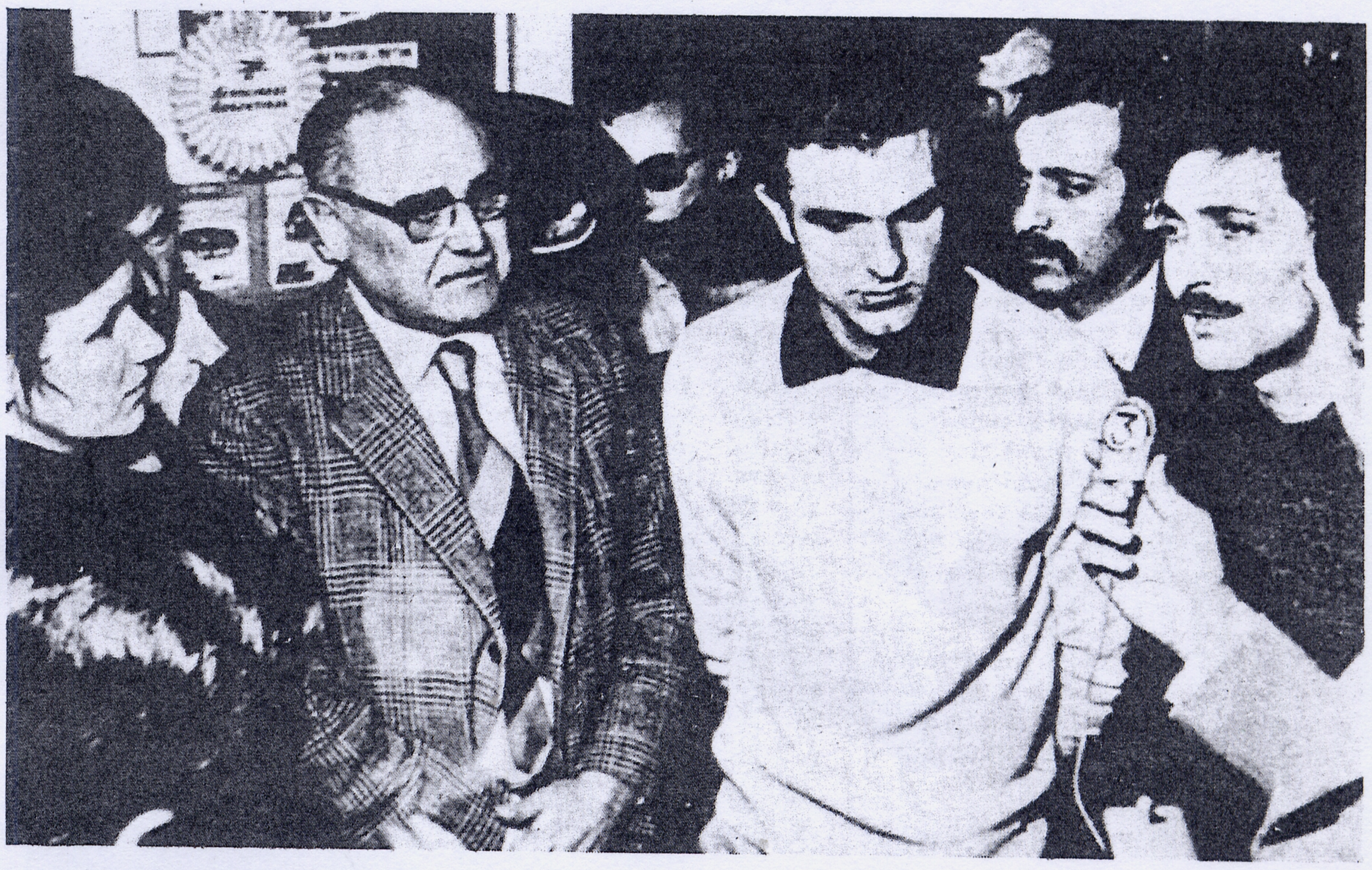
For several hours, the 25 were in complete control of the prison. One guard was killed in a gun fight at the beginning of the breakout. But none of the other guards, or prison staff, were harmed while held captive.

Six of the escaped guerrillas hijacked an airliner and succeeded in getting to Chile, where they sought asylum from the Allende government. (The Chilean government arranged to have the guerrillas flown to Cuba).

Among the six was Mario Roberto Santucho, a well-known leader of the ERP, who was the apparent leader of the break. The ERP is led by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT - Revolutionary Workers Party).

According to the Argentine press, the 19 guerrillas who were later recaptured had been delayed on their way to the airport because only one car was waiting for the escapees outside the prison. When the 19 finally found transportation, they missed the departing plane, evidently by a matter of minutes.

The remaining guerrillas took refuge in the airport's restaurant, where they were quickly surrounded by military units. After holding a 50-minute news conference in the airport, the guerrillas surrendered without resistance.



MURDERED ARGENTINE GUERRILLAS being interviewed at Trelew airport after they surrendered. The woman on the left is Maria Antonia Berger. The two men speaking into the microphone are Mariano Pujala Badell [left] and Humberto Segundo Suarez. The man in glasses is a police official. The three guerrillas were among those later slain by the army.

"I am disappointed," the Aug. 22 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly Primera Plana quoted an Argentinian marine officer as saying. "We were going to liquidate them all. If they had dared fire one shot we would not have left one of them alive . . ."

One week later the military had its satisfaction. They claimed that the 19 detainees made a second attempt to escape, taking a guard and a marine captain as hostages. According to the official story, the marine captain threw himself upon the ground and ordered his men to mow down the prisoners.

Three defense attorneys for the slain prisoners denounced the deaths as "a virtual execution" and charged that it would have been impossible for the guerrillas to escape from the Trelew base because they were held in separate cells under heavy guard.

Ana Maria Villareal de Santucho, a member of the ERP and the wife of Mario Roberto Santucho, was one of the four women among the 16 murdered prisoners.

Public reaction to the killings was immediate and angry. The bodies of the young revolutionists killed in Trelew Aug. 22 became focuses of public protest when they were sent back to cities all over Argentina.

"Minutes before the broadcast during which President Lanusse voiced assurances that there would be free elections next March," a London Times reporter cabled from Buenos Aires, Aug. 24, "Argentine paramilitary policemen had smashed their way into the Peronist headquarters in this capital and seized the coffins containing the bodies of three of the guerrilla suspects . . ." The Peronists had planned a public wake for the slain guerrillas.

Student demonstrations broke out in Buenos Aires and in almost every major provincial city as soon as news of the massacre became known. Students had violent clashes with police in Cordoba, La Plata, Corrientes, Santa Fe, Tucuman, San Luis, and Rosario. In Cordoba alone, 673 persons were arrested, according to the Buenos Aires daily La Prensa.

Despite the repression, the protests quickly assumed a very broad character. The national leadership of the CGT telegrammed General Lanusse demanding an accounting for the deaths of the 16 the regional CGT. On Aug 24, police raided the Cardoba CGT headquarters and closed the building. An army statement was issued containing orders for the arrest of all members of the district CGT governing board.

The Cordoba workers answered with a general strike. An Aug. 25 Associated Press dispatch from Cordoba reported, "This industrial city of nearly a million people was crippled today by a 14-hour general strike protesting the slaying of the 16 guerrillas and supporting a demand for higher wages.

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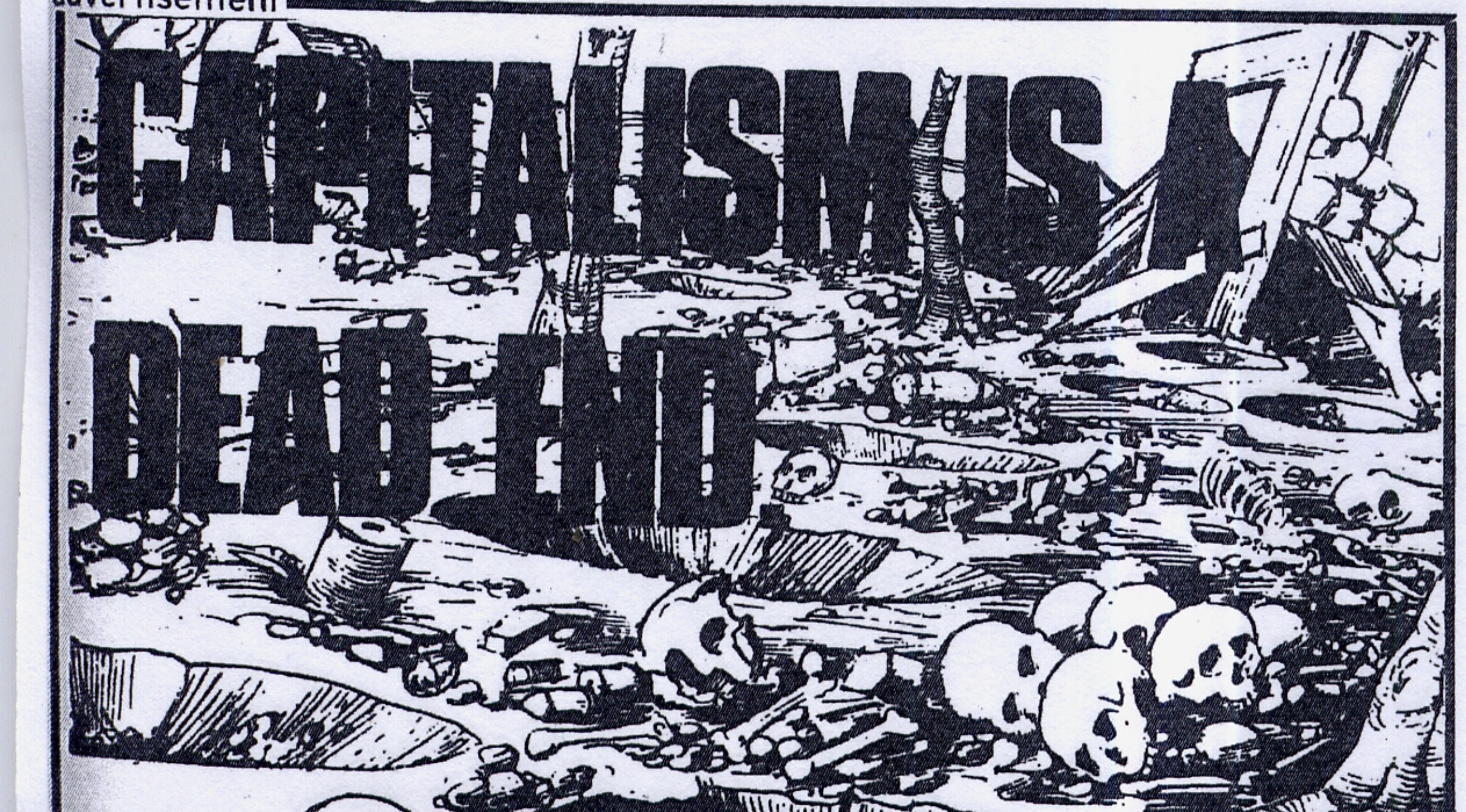

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Allende straddles on giving asylum

Ten Argentine guerrillas who hijacked an airliner to Chile on Aug. 15 left Santiago, Chile's capital, 10 days later for Cuba. (The six who successfully escaped from Rawson federal penitentiary were joined in the hijacking by four others who boarded the plane before it reached the Trelew airport in southern Argentina.)

According to a Reuters dispatch from Santiago Aug. 25, President Salvador Allende announced in a nationwide broadcast that his government "had granted them political asylum but had also taken steps to insure they left Chile as quickly as possible."

The arrival of the guerrillas in Chile placed Allende in an embarrassing position. On Aug. 16 Allende addressed a news conference during which he gave a blow-by-blow account of his government's response to the presence of the guerrillas on Chilean soil.

Describing the government's first negotiations with the group while they were still on the plane, Allende said, "We told them that we could not give them asylum without knowing who they were. We asked that they identify themselves. They did not do so. So we told them that under these circumstances we could only tell them that this is is a constitutional country and that they would have to submit to Chilean laws."

Even though the identities of the guerrillas were quickly obtained, they were not granted immediate asylum. Allende reported that the guerrillas decided they "would remain in Chile and obey Chilean law."

He added that "Chilean law implies that the matter must be submitted to the courts, since granting extradition is their responsibility."

The MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario — Movement of the Revolutionary Left) denounced the Allende government's decision to turn the guerrillas over to the ultraconservative courts and demanded that they be granted political asylum or safe transit to another country.

The MIR called a series of street demonstrations, including one in downtown Santiago on Aug. 17, which police attempted to break up with tear gas.

After one more week of juggling this political hot potato, the Allende government announced that it was granting the guerrillas the status of political refugees and arranging for them to leave Chile as soon as possible. On Aug. 26, they arrived in Havana on a Cubana de Aviacion flight.

"In an airport news conference," reported Reuters from Havana, "Mario Roberto Santucho — considered one of the leaders of the guerrilla group — accused President Alejandro A. Lanusse of Argentina of having deliberately ordered the assassination of guerrillas who had helped organize his escape."

The same day Argentina "indefinitely" recalled its ambassador to Chile to protest the flight of the guerrillas to Cuba.

from The Militant

labor Challenge

ARGENTINE PARTIES PREPARE FOR COMING ELECTIONS

The last issue of Labor Challenge carried extensive reportage of the Aug. 22 Trelew massacre in Argentina, where 16 young political prisoners were cut down following their surrender to armed forces after a jailbreak. In order to acquaint our readers with the political background to these events, we are reprinting this article on the present electoral maneuvers by the Lanusse dictatorship from the American socialist weekly The Militant.

by PETER CAMEJO

Key to the electoral maneuver of the Lanusse dictatorship in Argentina is the Peronist movement. The Peronists control the powerful trade union federation, the CGT (Confederacion General del Trabajo — General Federation of Labor), and Juan Peron remains the only capitalist politician with influence among the masses.

In an attempt to take advantage of Peron's popular support, General Alejandro Lanusse offered the former dictator a chance to return to Argentina from exile in Spain. However, the mass mobilization of workers and students in past months have made it difficult for Peron to make a deal with Lanusse without losing his standing among the masses.

Peron chose not to return to Argentina by Aug. 25, the deadline set by Lanusse for residence in Argentina for anyone desiring to run in the 1973 elections.

Lanusse is also seeking to come to an agreement with the Peronist trade union bureaucracy.

After the general strike of Feb. 29 of this year, Peron sent a letter to his followers urging them to cool things down until after the elections. The top Peronist leaders have adopted Peron's orientation, but the secondary trade union leaders and rank-and-file workers are not so easily controlled.

The Peronist movement is entering a crisis because of the pressures of the mass movements and the continued compromising stands taken by its leadership.

The Peronist movement is composed of various groupings, including some leftist trends. The Peronists have participated in negotiations and blocs at the highest levels of the capitalist governmental circles. At the same time they have used trade union action and even terrorist acts as levers in their maneuverings.

Thus in Argentina there are guerrilla groups, trade union bureaucrats, rank-and-file workers, ultrarightists, and major capitalist politicians, all claiming to be the followers of Juan Peron. They function as a kind of coalition under the label of Partido Justicialista Justicialist Party).

Guerrilla groups

Another component of the rgentine political scene is the uerrilla groups. Their response to Lanusse's promise of elections has been such ultraleft slogans as "Neither coup nor elections — revolution!" and "Against the electoral farce, revolutionary war."

Armed groups have existed sporadically in Argentina since the overthrow of Peron in 1955. After the Cuban revolution, small groups attempted rural guerrilla warfare but were wiped out.

Then, after the Ongania coup in 1966 and the general decline in the class struggle that followed, the frustrations flet among radicalized middle-class layers created new interest in guerrilla warfare. After the Cordobazo (the massive workers' uprising in the city of Cordoba in 1969), the guerrilla groups have oriented toward urban guerrilla warfare.

The guerrilla groups' only answer to the Lanusse government and the projected elections is to continue what they call "revolutionary war" — that is, armed actions by small groups such as disarming policemen, expropriating banks, kidnapping, and lately, assassinating hated officials.

None of the groups participating in armed actions have any influence in the organized working class — with the possible exception of the Peronist guerrilla groups that are part of the broader Peronist movement. This is partially due to the totally clandestine conditions under which they must function. But in addition, they have no program for the day-to-day struggles of the masses.

The guerrilla groups have suffered terrible repression in the last two years. The most active group, the People's Revolutionary Army (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo — ERP), has some 150 members in prison.

Class collaboration

The two major capitalist political formations cooperating in the GAN (Gran Acuerdo Nacional — Great National Agreement, Lanusse's name for the preparations for the elections) are the Peronists and the Radicals. In addition, all other capitalist political parties have joined in, from the Christian Democrats to the various split-offs from the Radicals.

To try to project the elections as the solution to the problems facing Argentina, the Lanusse dictatorship has organized conferences to show the nation how all sectors of Argentina are supposedly sitting down together and working things out. At such conferences all the procapitalist groupings — with the possible exception of the rightist New Force led by Alvaro Alsogaray — hold discussions with the Peronist labor leaders and Socialist and Communist leaders.

The Communist Party has attempted to organize a popular front with "progressive" sectors of the capitalist class in a grouping called the National Encounter of Argentines (ENA — Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos).

The ENA has participated in the Frente Civico (Civic Front), a formation representing "prodevelopment" sectors of the capitalist class and designed to promote the elections. Sections of the Peronist movement are also working within the Civic Front.

The Communist Party has attempted to maintain an image of opposition to the government. However, its policy through the ENA has been to give legitimacy to the politics of Lanusse and to the notion that Argentina's problems can be solved by the collaboration of the exploiters and the exploited.

Only one political party has rejected this class-collaborationist policy, and that is the left wing of the Socialist Party of Argentina (PSA) led by Juan Carlos Coral. The PSA was one of the parties legalized under Lanusse's call for elections.

The PSA

The Socialist Party (SP) in Argentina once had an important influence in the trade unions. But after the Peronist era, the SP was essentially reduced to an electoral formation. It split in 1958 into right and left social democratic parties.

The left-wing group, called the PSA, began to radicalized under the impact of the Cuban revolution in the early 1960s. It received a substantial number of votes in the mid-1960s, at times carrying districts in Buénos Aires.

In 1965 the PSA split again. The strongly pro-Cuban youth were expelled by the more conservative elements, in spite of the fact that the left had a majority of the membership. The 1965 split resulted in two PSAs, one led by Coral and the other by Jorge Selsar.

The Selsar PSA has since united with a populist group and changed its name to the Popular Socialist Party (PSP). It has joined in building the GAN and supports the popular-front strategy of uniting with "progressive" capitalist politicians. Some members of Selsar's group have gone over to the Coral PSA in protest against these policies.

After the 1965 split the PSA-(Coral) moved further to the left. It rejected any blocs with capitalist parties. It declared against the Communist Party's theory of a two-stage revolution — that is, the theory that Argentina needs first a capitalist-democratic revolution and then, later, a socialist revolution. The PSA instead calls for a socialist revolution in Argentina.

The PSA has called upon all working-class organizations to refuse to participate in the conferences organized by the military dictatorship and to oppose all blocs with any sector of the capitalist class. Instead, it has characterized the coming elections as a farce that cannot solve Argentina's problems and has urged all socialists to unite to form a socialist pole, or socialist alternative, against the capitalist pole of the GAN.

The PSA has taken the lead in urging socialists to take full advantage of the openings presented by the elections to reach the working class on a mass scale. It plans to run against the procapitalist candidates calling for a workers government as the only government that can begin to meet the needs of the masses.

PRT (La Verdad)

The call for a socialist alternative in the elections and the recent rapid growth of the PSA is partially due to an agreement reached between the PSA and the PRT (La Verdad) (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores — Revolutionary Workers Party).

The PRT (La Verdad) is a Trotskyist part that has recently been growing rapidly among both students and workers. Organized underground because it is considered "illegal" by the government, the PRT (La Verdad) has been able to gain influence in important trade unions, maintain a clandestine weekly newspaper, La Verdad (The Truth), and even lead some of Agentina's most important strikes in the recent period.

The PRT (La Verdad) position is that Argentina has entered a prerevolutionary situation since the Cordobazo in 1969. It holds that the Cordobazo revealed the key to Argentina's revolution: that the urban workers, especially the industrial workers, are the vanguard of revolutionary change.

This group believes that the curcial task in Argentina is building a revolutionary party with a mass base in the major industrial unions. It has concentrated on winning influence through the factory committees.

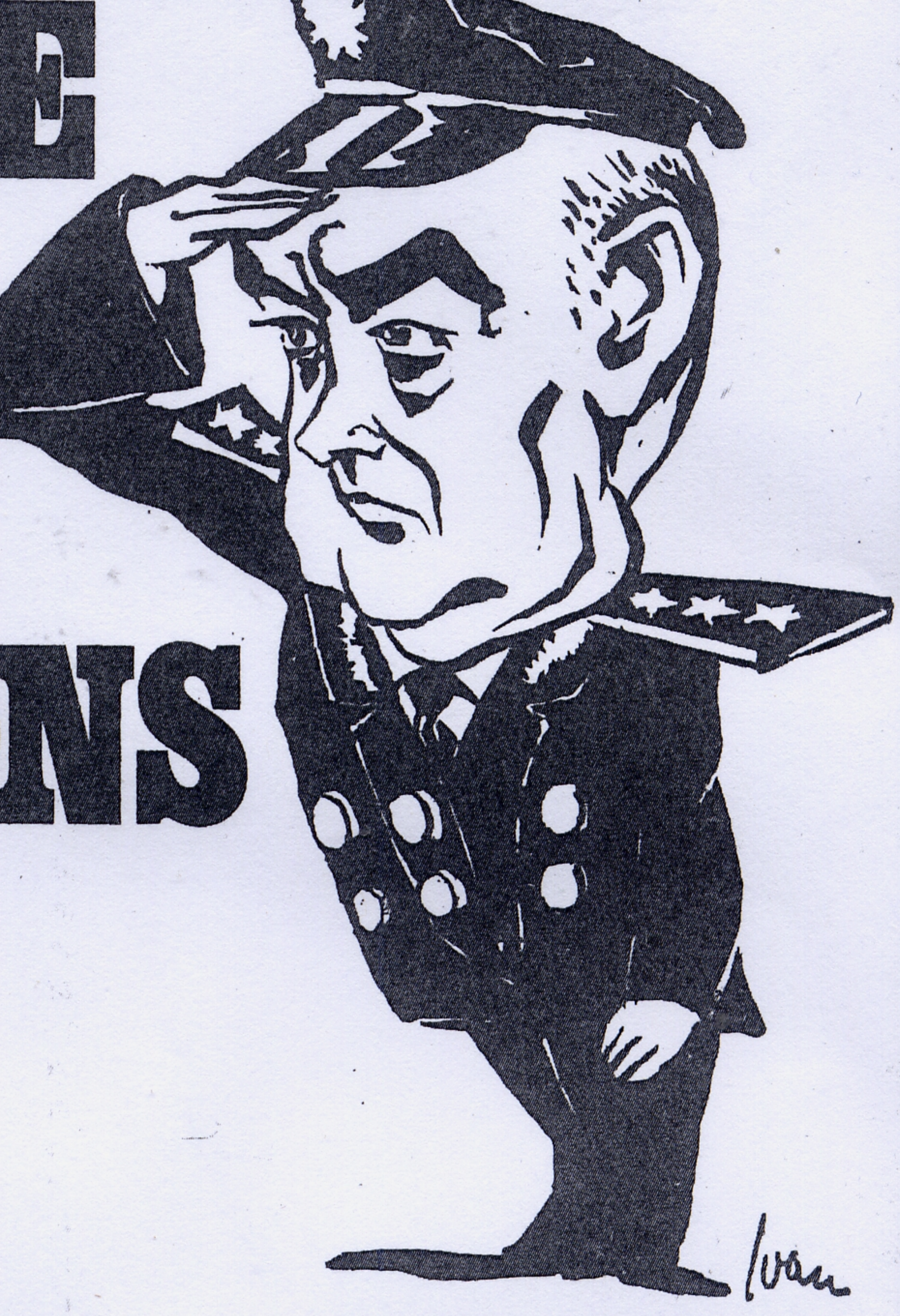
Its program in the unions calls for automatic cost-of-living increases in wages to fight inflation; a minimum salary of 70,000 pesos a month (about $70); political independence of the trade unions from all capitalist parties, including the Peronists; freedom for political prisoners; trade-union democracy; and trade-union participation in anti-imperialist struggles.

It also calls for a rank-and-file congress of the CGT, the largest union federation, to project a plan of struggle around these demands.

Since the PSA-PRT (La Verdad) united effort began, it has grown rapidly — becoming the largest formation to the left of the Communist Party. The PSA is the only party, other than those blocking with the capitalist parties, that has met the stringent requirements imposed by the Lanusse government to enter the elections. The government requires that four out of every 1,000 voters in at least five provinces formally join the party. The PSA has met this requirement, registering in its legal structure some 33,000 students and workers.

The PSA has established a legal newspaper, Avanzada Socialista (Socialist Vanguard), and has opened headquarters in almost all major cities of Argentina.

In spite of its rapid growth, the PSA-PRT (La Verdad) is still a relatively small current in the context of Argentina's workers movement as a whole. Whether the socialist pole will be able to attract a sufficient following to substantially affect the course of events is still unclear. But regardless of the results of the elections — which may not even be held — the present electoral maneuver by the ruling class under pressure from the mass movement is giving the Marxist movement in Argentina an important opportunity to build the revolutionary party.



General Alejandro Lanusse

Correction

In the caption to the photograph on age 11 of the last issue (Sept. 11) of abor Challenge, Maria Antonia erger is identified as among those ain in the Trelew massacre in rgentina Aug. 22. Actually she was mong the three still alive after the aughter. According to the rgentine press, her lower jaw was hattered by a bullet that continued wn into her throat. Another bullet t her in the stomach, leaving rough her shoulder. The Aug. 24 aily La Razon said that a acheotomy was performed on her enable her to breathe. "But her uation took a dangerous turn for worse when she suffered stoperative shock."

The Lanusse regime has issued no ther reports on her condition. e the two other wounded survors, she is being held inmmunicado and denied visits by her relatives or independent ctors.

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Argentine murders exposed

by JOHN WILSON

Since the massacre of 16 political prisoners at Trelew air base in Argentina by a marine guard unit Aug. 22, the myth promoted by the Lanusse military dictatorship that the victims were killed "trying to escape" has been definitely exposed.

The regime's version was challenged from the beginning by the ten guerrillas who escaped to Chile and from there to political asylum in Cuba. Interviewed in the Chilean magazine Mayoria, the guerrillas, members of the ERP (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo - Revolutionary Army of the People), the FAR (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias - Revolutionary Armed Forces) and the Montoneros, pointed out a number of factors making any escape attempt virtually impossible: the isolation of the air base; the isolation of the prisoners in separate cells, heavily guarded; and lack of access to any weapons or vehicle. As one of the guerrillas stated in the interview:

"Only one conclusion is possible: It was treacherous and premeditated murder, the responsibility for which lies above all with the military regime headed by Lanusse."

This accusation has been fully confirmed by the three survivors of the Trelew massacre. This was disclosed in an article in Le Monde Sept. 13 by the paper's Argentine correspondent Philippe Labreveux.

"That night" (Aug.22), related Alberto Camps, one of the survivors, "Captain Sosa and Lt. Bravo woke us up around 3:00 a.m., ordering us to fold up our mattresses and blankets and stand inside our cells. Then we went out into the corridor, where we were lined up in a double file.

"One of the guards in the passageway said: 'Now you're going to see what repression is, you murderers, you sons of bitches . . .'

"The first burst of machinegun fire followed immediately," Camps continued. "I thought they were firing blanks, but I saw a bullet hit a comrade. My cellmate and I threw ourselves back into our cell. I heard two or three more volleys, and then single shots.

"Lieutenant Bravo entered and told us to stand up and put our hands back of our heads. He asked me if I intended to talk. I said no. He fired, hitting me in the stomach."

Ricardo Haidar and Maria Berger, the two other survivors, confirmed that without the slightest incident or movement from the prisoners, the machineguns started to fire.

As a statement issued by the ERP, the FAR and the Montoneros in Mayoria declared, these brutal and unprovoked murders, have once again exposed the Argentine armed forces in "their role as occupation forces in the service of imperialism and its domestic allies, their counterrevolutionary role, their role as exploiters of our people, and their role as savage murders and torturers of militants fighting in behalf of the people."

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Condemns Argentine repression

The "Argentine Commission" of the South American Tourist Organization (SATO) is visiting Quebec in order to "promote Argentine tourism" by putting on a performance called "Spectacular Argentina". They want to "acquaint" the Quebecois with Argentina. . .

Alain Beiner, independentist and socialist candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO) in Montreal-Lafontaine (riding) demands that the "Argentine Commission" acquaint the Quebecois with the real face of the military dictatorship of General Lanusse and the real situation in Argentina.

The "Argentine Commission" will not utter a word about the Trelew massacre in Argentina. Sixteen political prisoners, opponents of the military regime, who together with three other prisoners had escaped from the Rawson prison peacefully surrendered to authorities, turning in their arms on Aug. 15 in the aftermath of their attempt to get out of the country. They were murdered in cold blood on Aug. 22, seven days later, at the Trelew air and naval base.

This massacre was coldly planned by the president General Alejandro Lanusse, the same person who wants to encourage Quebec tourists to go to Argentina! When a mass protest movement got underway, Lanusse decided to send his police to attack the place where the funeral vigil for the victims was being held, surrounding it with armed detachments in order to seize the coffins and bury them secretly!

This is not an isolated incident. It is part of a general campaign of governmental repression against all opposition. Democracy does not exist in Argentina — the repression is one of the most barbarous in Latin America. In Argentina people are arrested without charge, detained indefinitely and often tortured. Lanusse is now speaking about "free" elections for 1973, but behind these promises the repression against opponents continues unabated.

Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader, was arrested July 12, two months after his legal entry into Argentina.

He is being held in the Villa Devota prison in Buenos Aires under an explusion order. In spite of the fact that he was to have been expelled from the country on July 19, he is still held in prison without explanation.

On the occasion of this "visit" of the "Argentine Commission," Alain Beiner demands that the Argentine government immediately and unconditionally free Hugo Blanco and all political prisoners! Stop deportation measures against Blanco! End the torture and repression!

We demand that the federal government protest to the Lanusse government against its tortures! We demand that it break all relations with the Lanusse government. We demand that the organizers of the "Argentine Commission" acquaint the Quebecois with the real situation in Argentina — promote freedom instead of tourism!

labor
Challenge

Workers slate launched

Socialist support grows in Argentina

VIVAN LOS CANDIDATOS
OBREROS
P.S.T. SANTA FE
A LOS CANDIDATOS
APOYO POR

CAMPAIGN MEETING. Section of crowd at Frente Obrero meeting Dec.16 in Buenos Aires.

The following article is reprinted from the American socialist weekly The Militant. The author was the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1968, and has long been a leading figure in the U.S. antiwar movement.

by FRED HALSTEAD

BUENOS AIRES, Dec. 18 — This weekend I attended three meetings here concerning the elections that are scheduled for Argentina next March

The first took place Dec. 16 in a rented movie theater in a workingclass suburb of Buenos Aires. It was a meeting of the Frente Obrero (Workers Front), a united front of workingclass candidates pledged to run in these elections independent of the capitalist parties, including the Peronist party.

As I enter the theater the meeting has not yet begun. A few hundred people are there early preparing the hall with banners, and as groups from around the country arrive bringing their own, these too are placed around the hall.

The biggest banner hangs above the stage: "First Plenary of the Frente Obrero. Against the Trap of the Generals, Bosses, and Doctores (titled persons). For Workers Candidates."

Some of the other signs, which are of all sizes and colors, read: "Petrochemical — La Plata. We Support the Workers Candidates"; "Barrio of Mendoza Present!"; "Sugarworkers of Tucaman, Present!"; "Metalworkers, Barrio La Carolina"; "San Nicolas With the Frente Obrero — Long Live the Struggle of the Workers of McKee San Nicolas!" (McKee is a metalurgical plant.) There are dozens of such banners being placed now, as the hall begins to fill up.

A group from Rosario enters, forces its way down the center aisle and sings a song made up for the occasion. After each verse there are cheers from the others, who catch the chorus after a few times and join in: "We don't want to vote bosses, only workers."

A large banner hangs from the balcony: "First Special Congress of the Partido Socialista de Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers Party) — For Workers Candidates — For a Socialist Argentina." This is the new party resulting from a fusion of the left wing of the old Socialist Party of Argentina and the Trotskyist Partido Revolucinario de los Trabajadores (PRT Verdad — Revolutionary Workers Party).

The PST is a key part of the Frente Obrero, whose candidates will use the PST ballot status to place their names on the ballot. This arrangement of a broader front of candidates using the ballot status of a part of the front is not unusual in Argentina. Several of the other parties, including Peron's National Justicialist Movement , have made similar arrangements in this election. But unlike all other fronts, the Frente Obrero includes no capitalist parties.

After the meeting of the Frente Obrero, the congress of the PST is scheduled to take place in the same hall.

SITRAC-SITRAM

A few young men, their shirts removed because of the heat, are hanging another large banner from the balcony, and as it falls into place the crowd — now filling the lower floor of the theater — cheers. It reads: "Down with the Government. Liberty for Paez, Flores and the rest of the comrades of SITRAC-SITRAM! Free All the Prisoners of the Military Dictatorship!"

Paez and Flores are leaders of SITRAC-SITRAM, unions in two Fiat auto plants in the northern industrial city of Cordoba. These unions broke with the Peronist bureaucracy that dominates Argentina's top union leadership and played a vanguard role on a city-wide and national scale. They led the two famous uprisings called the Cordobazos. SITRAC-SITRAM have been banned by the military dictatorship that rules the country, and many of their leaders have been imprisoned.

It is announced from the platform that Paez has just been released from jail and will be attending this Frente Obrero meeting. The audience breaks into cheers and then into a rhythmic chant: "Two, three, many SITRAC-SITRAMs!"

Throughout the rest of the meeting this kind of chanting occurs repeatedly. Chanting, of course, is also common at rallies in other parts of the world, but what is different here is that many of the chants do not seem to be traditional, but seem to be made up on the spot — like a Calypso singer's verses — so widely do they vary and so closely do they fit the particular moment or the particular point being discussed.

The lower level is quite crowded now, and I can't see at first who is coming down the aisle to spreading cheers. It is an old man, walking straight and erect. One of the chants tells me who it is: "Mateo Fossa from Tucuman, coordinator of retired workers!"

Mateo Fossa has been a leader in the Argentine workers movement for half a century. In the 1930s he visited Leon Trotsky in Mexico and has since then been sympathetic to the Fourth International.

The cheering is quite wild at his appearance; I notice one lithe young men almost turning flips. I wonder at what this says about the generation gap, since the great majority of the audience are young persons in their twenties. At the very least it is clear these young workers are proud of their ties with the oldest militants.

One of the old workers takes the stage after running the gauntlet of cheers. He is Pedro Milese, as the chant tells me: "Old Pete, veteran of SITRAC-SITRAM and Cordoba!"

Finally the meeting is called to order, but before it begins the cheers interrupt from the back: "Paez! Paez! For many more SITRAMs!"

Jose Francisco Paez comes walking down the aisle, a short man in his mid-twenties wearing loose-fitting blue jeans and a faded red shirt. He is accompanied by a work-worn woman and several small children. He pauses in the audience briefly while seats are found for the woman and children and then proceeds to the stage.

The meeting begins. Old Pete speaks first. "I represent those who fought before. I remember those who were imprisoned. So many. It is a triumph to be here. This is the way to fight the masters."

It is a speech befitting a rally, which is what this meeting really is. There are only a few simple points of business — to decide whether to field a presidential slate in addition to the parliamentary and local candidates, to recommend that slate, and to set up an ongoing committee that can enlarge itself and direct the campaign.

The people here, many of them candidates themselves (the Frente Obrero hopes to field 1,000 candidates), represent local party groups of the PST, local Frente Obrero groups, committees in various unions, and neighborhood groups, many of them called Sociedades de Fomento (Improvement Societies). The latter are longstanding mass organizations found in many workingclass neighborhoods in Argentina. Many of those representing such groups are women.

DISILLUSIONED WITH PERONISM

A woman of about 40 in a red dress is pointed out in the audience by one of the speakers on the stage. She is described as a longtime Peronist leader in a workers neighborhood. She stands in the audience and says a few words: She is joining with the Frente Obrero because she can't stand the Peronist policy. The audience cheers.

A number of other speakers express similar sentiments, most of them workers in their late 30s and 40s. A dock worker introduces himself as "a revolutionary of the Peronist movement." "I have failed for 17 years because of Peronism. We have had no victories for 17 years. Those responsible for those failures aren't here to support this very important meeting on behalf of workers power . . . The workers must decide, must save the country. The people must take power by jumping over all the traps the capitalists put in our way."

I notice a banner on the side wall that says: "Rucci doesn't represent anything." Rucci is the Peronist head of the Confederacion General del Trabajo (CGT — General Federation of Labor) of Argentina.

It is one of the most powerful union movements in the world, organizing close to 90 percent of Argentina's workers. Its top leadership has a long record of class collaboration, sweetheart contracts, and strikebreaking against the rank-and-file plant committees that are the real strength of the Argentine union movement.

At present, the CGT leadership cooperates with the military dictatorship. Politically it is part of Peron's Justicialist party. In this sense, though not in others, Peron's party is similar to the Democratic party in the U.S. — a procapitalist party containing within it a spectrum from rightists to the leadership of the labor movement.

A big difference is that the Peronists have been illegal or semi-legal for much of time time since Peron was overthrown in 1955, and they have an aura of persecuted anti-imperialists. Also, workers remember the significant social reforms that they won during Peron's rule.

This makes Peronism the biggest block to independent workingclass political action. Thus the fact that the Frente Obrero has attracted militant workers from the Peronist movement for the crucial step of breaking with capitalist politics is a highly significant beginning.

Also present at the Frente Obrero rally are some militants from the Communist party as well as other

RIOT POLICE. Chasing workers and st

tendencies on the left. The CP in Argentina did not attempt to get ballot status, seeking instead a bloc with "progressive" capitalists.

Late in the afternoon the Frente Obrero meeting becomes involved in a discussion over whether to field a presidential slate. It is clear the great majority favor this. To do otherwise would not pose clearly a workingclass alternative.

Old Pete, however, opposes it, and perhaps others as well, so a long process of patient explanation goes on with no doubt as to the outcome. I take the opportunity to look in on another rally taking place at the same time a few miles away.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH RALLY

This is a meeting of the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA, the Socialist Vanguard Youth, which is affiliated with the PST). Before I leave the Frente Obrero meeting I carefully estimate the crowd — about 1,500 at that point.

The youth rally is also being held in a rented movie theater. Inside there are some 700 young people, delegates from around the country representing a youth group of more than 2,000, according to the organizers.

This meeting is all spirit and chanting. I jot down a few of the chants: "The youth fight for workingclass independence"; "To fight, to win, workers to power!"; "Trotsky, Guevara, the people are getting ready!"; "Chile, Cuba, Vietnam, the people salute you!" After this chant there is some discussion of the regime in Chile, with Allende coming in for sharp criticism.

It is obvious just from physical appearance that the majority of these youth are not from universities but are younger. I speak to as many as I can in the short time I'm there. Most are from high schools (secundarios, they are called here). Some are young workers.

After an hour or so I return to the Frente Obrero meeting. They have decided to run a presidential slate and are now discussing who the presidential and vice-presidential candidates will be.

A PST official, Alberto Pujal, formally offers the ballot status of the party to the Frente Obrero candidates, declaring that the PST will set aside 75 percent of the spots for leaders of the rank-and-file struggles in plants and neighborhoods.

He also announces that the party is prepared to run two of its own members — Juan Coral and Nora Ciapponi — for the top posts, but that it will yield to a slate of Paez and Leandro Fote, secretary of the San Jose sugar refinery workers in Tucuman, if they accept.

It is announced that Fote sends a message declining for personal reasons. The time has come for Paez to speak. The whole audience eagerly awaits his decision. The youth — by this time have adjourned their own meeting and piled into the balcony here — are chanting for Paez as presidential candidate.

CORDOBAZO

One reason for the charisma of Paez and the other revolutionary unionists from Cordoba is their leading role in the Cordobazos. These were semi-insurrections that took place in 1969 and 1971, marking the upturn in the class struggle in Argentina that is still in effect.

Indeed, it is in an attempt to deal with this new situation that the current military dictatorship has promised elections and a return to constitutional government. It is for this reason they have allowed Peron to visit the country.

The rulers are counting on the Peronists to help deflect the workers' revolutionary energies into capitalist parliamentary politics. The Frente Obrero is countering this with independent working-class political action.

Paez takes the floor. He has stage presence, the makings of an orator. He pledges support to the Frente Obrero but says he cannot decide on the presidential nomination right now. There are differences among his comrades in Cordoba and he must discuss with them.

At this point some people from Cordoba stand in the audience and begin chanting for Paez to accept. The whole audience is wild with chants, then one chant takes over from all the rest: "Come, come, come, companero. For here we are forming the Grand Party of the Working Class!" (In Spanish it has meter and rhyme.)

But Paez is firm in his decision. He will have to talk to his comrades from Cordoba. The naming of the top slate will have to wait until the PST congress tomorrow.

The rest of the Frente Obrero meeting is anticlimactic. The form of the continuation committee is discussed and decided. The meeting is adjourned to shouts of "Obreros al poder!" (Workers to power.) I am told there will be a band and dancing to finish off the night.

I ride home on the bus with a PST member who is also in need of sleep since he spent the last two nights in jail for selling the party newspaper in front of a factory. Election campaign or not, Argentina is still a military dictatorship and the state of civil liberties is touch and go.

The next morning, on the way to the PST congress, I pick up the papers and see a news photo of Abal Medina, general secretary of Peron's National Justicialist Movement being physically thrown out of his own party's Buenos Aires provincial meeting. Medina had demanded the meeting nominate one candidate for governor of the province — the second most important post in the country — and the meeting had instead nominated someone else.

The story goes on to say that the candidates who were nominated by the meeting were later expelled from the party by the leadership. The papers are full of descriptions of physical fighting, including gunplay and even an assassination, among the Peronists as they attempt to work out their slate of candidates for the coming elections. It is obvious the Peronist movement is in crisis.

By contrast the PST congress is well ordered and discussion is full and democratic. One thousand people attend, about half as many as at the height of the Frento Obrero meeting the day before. There are 195 voting delegates from 12 provinces and the city of Buenos Aires.

The first major point on the agenda is a speech by Juan Carlos Coral, leader of the Marxist wing of the old Socialist Party of Argentina that fused with the Trotskyists to form the PST.

His speech here is a description of the prerevolutionary crisis in Argentina, of the present opportunity to reach the masses who have been entrapped in Peronism, and of the necessity to build a revolutionary party.

"The Frente Obrero," he declared, "Is not a propaganda concept, but a tool in the hands of the Argentine proletariat. But there is something even more important: calling for the conquest of political power by the working class is for this party not a romantic pronouncement, a utopian slogan, but the concrete, immediate task of this generation, which will make the social revolution in Argentina."

The audience gives Coral a standing ovation. A number of reports and resolutions follow, including approval of an election platform for the PST and approval of a position of solidarity with the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist party. Then discussion of the presidential slate begins.

PRESIDENTIAL TICKET

Paez takes the stage, but this time he sits behind a table and asks the audience not to applaud. He speaks quietly, without flourish, and says a great deal:

He has been up until two in the morning talking with those who had come from Cordoba, and he still could not resolve the problem of running for president. For himself, yes, he is for it. But he tells of the problems in the newly formed Frente Obrero in Cordoba.

Among the vanguard in Cordoba are many for whom participation in the elections seems a betrayal. They offer instead slogans like "Neither coup nor election, revolution!" and "Active boycott of the elections."

Paez says that much of the vanguard in Cordoba is taken in by these ultraleft conceptions. There is much discussion among the tendencies, groups, and parties, many of them from university circles that in Cordoba have had an influence on the young revolutionary union leaders. They said it was criminal for Paez to suggest that the leaders of SITRAC-SITRAM and other factory leaders should look to the alternative of presenting workers candidates in the elections.

However, he says, he spoke with the people in the factory, in the neighborhood, the ordinary people. They did not understand the ultraleft slogans. They asked what they should do in the elections. For whom should they vote?

Because of this he sought answers that the masses could understand, that flowed from their needs at this point in the struggle. And the majority of the workers in his factory understand the proposal of the Frente Obrero for independent workingclass political action and agreed with it.

For himself, Paez had to go with the workers and their needs to develop the concrete struggle, hence, with the Frente Obrero campaign. But in Cordoba, some of the comrades now opposed to this can be won over. They have a record

see page 8

lents during general strike and demonstrations in Rosario, 1969.

labor Challenge

Argentine socialist slate

Juan C. Coral

Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate of the Argentine Socialist Workers party (PST), joined the Argentine Socialist party in 1955. He was one of a group of young people who favored the formation of a Marxist-Leninist party and hoped to change the political line and bureaucratic leadership of the SP. In 1958 a split occurred in the party, and the conservative wing left to form the Democratic Socialist party.

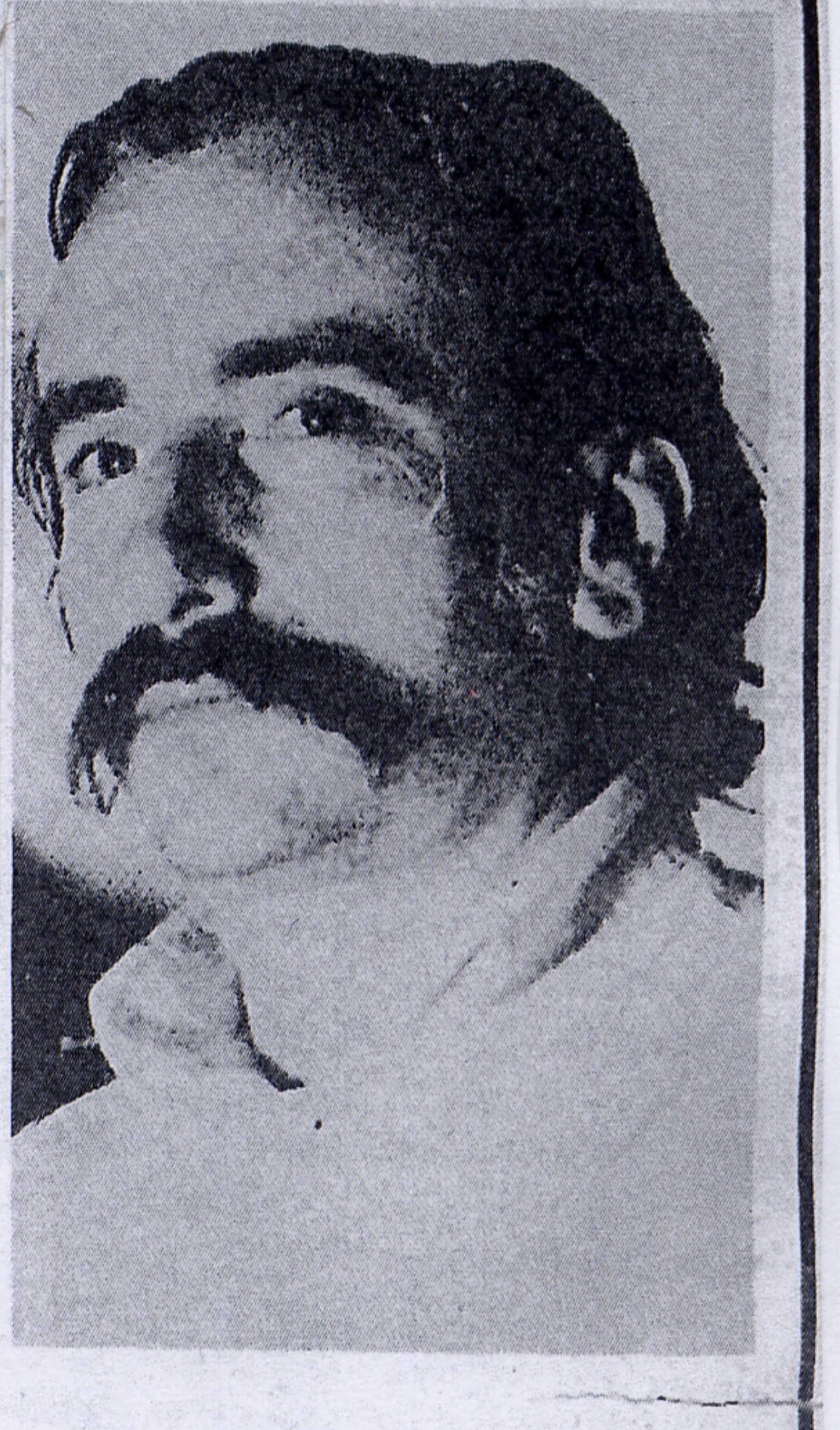
In the early 1960s Coral led a campaign in defense of the Cuban revolution. It was on this basis of support to Cuba that he was elected to parliament in 1963. Also because of his role in this movement, he was invited to the OLAS (Organization of Latin-American Solidarity) conference of 1967 in Havana as a representative of Argentina.

As a member of parliament, Coral used his position to advance workers' struggles. He took part in the peasant demonstrations against evictions in Hernando, Cordoba, and Los Toldos. He headed the movement of homeless working-class families to take over land for the construction of houses in Villa Florita, J.L. Suarez, and Barrio Almirante Brown (three towns in the province of Buenos Aires).

He participated in the workers' occupation of the Leyden factory and of the La Cadena publishing houses. In El Chaco province, he initiated a campaign against the practice of paying the lumberjacks with promissory notes, and investigated numerous cases of torture of political prisoners.

After the 1966 military coup Coral was arrested for participating in a student demonstration. He was again arrested for his role in a May 1, 1968, demonstration of workers.

Through the pages of Los de Abajo (meaning those from below, or from the bottom of society), a socialist newspaper he edited, he consistently attacked the military dictatorship and the class-collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy.



Nora Ciapponi

Despite her youth — she is only 30 — Nora Ciapponi, the vice-presidential candidate of the PST, has a long experience as a trade-union activist, political leader, and fighter for women's rights.

In 1964, after working in a sandal factory, she went to work for Hidrofila, one of the worst sweatshops in the textile industry. After working in the factory for 10 months, she was elected a union delegate.

In 1965, despite unfavorable conditions, the workers of Hidrofila went on strike demanding the payment of bonuses. Ciapponi joined the committee that successfully led the strike. The bosses and union bureaucrats of the factory soon realized she was a "dangerous element," but her reputation among the workers made it difficult to fire her. In 1967, however, she was fired along with 200 co-workers. Although the workers responded with protest actions, they were unable to prevent her being fired.

Ciapponi contined her trade-union activity in Productex, Foresti, and Modecraft, but was subsequently fired for constantly confronting the employers' exploitation of the workers.

Ciapponi understood that the trade-union struggle against the bosses was not enough, that in addition a political struggle was needed against the government of the bosses. Her revolutionary socialist views led her to become a political leader. There was hardly a workers' struggle in which she did not take part, and she became well known in every factory in North Buenos Aires province. The police also got to know her, and she was imprisoned four times.

The position of women, doubly oppressed as women and as workers prompted her to also take up the struggle for women's liberation. When Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., visited Argentina last May, Ciapponi was the first speaker at a meeting of 3,000 organized in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and for women's liberation.

Argentine student tours Canada

Scores dictatorship's repression

The following interview, obtained from Argentine activist Daniel Zadunaisky by Vernel Olson of the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (CCJLAPP), has been circulated by CCJLAPP with a request that newspapers and other publications reproduce it. Zadunaisky is presently on a cross-Canada tour to publicize the defense of Argentine political prisoners. Information on his tour may be obtained from the CCJLAPP, P.O. Box 128, Station O, Toronto 16, Ont.

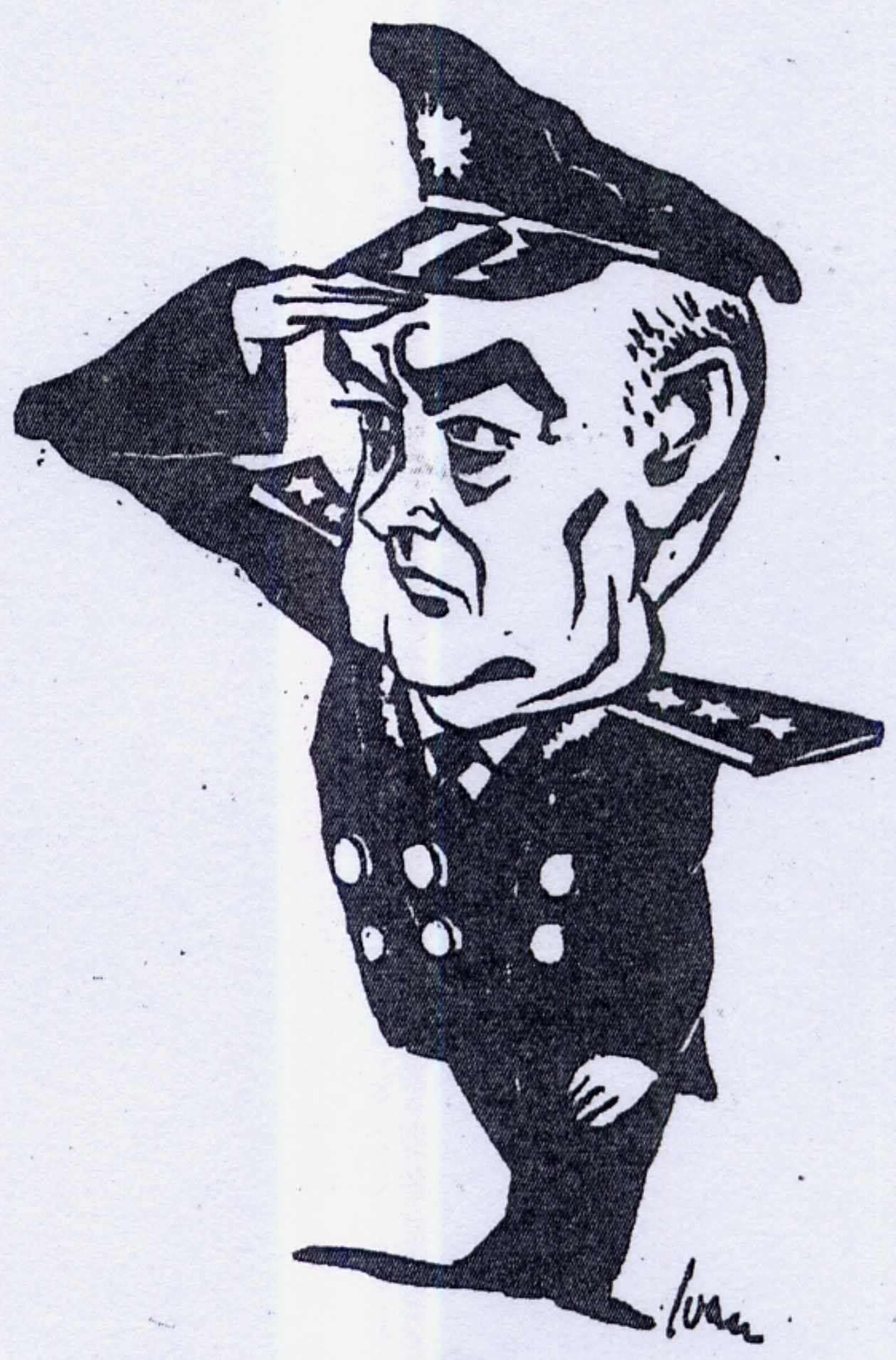
Olson: What is the main purpose of your speaking tour in North America?

Zadunaisky: I'm here on a tour sponsored by the U.S. and Canadian Latin American Justice Committees to talk about the problems of repression in Argentina and to draw to the attention of North Americans the real situation which seldom appears in the press here. This is specifically the fact that Argentina is being ruled by a military dictatorship. The dictatorship has been applying an article of the constitution called the "State of Siege" which invalidates the rest of the constitution.

When this article is applied, freedom of the press is abolished and freedom of political activity is limited by the government. Persons can be arrested by the executive power for their political views or activities and in many cases, for less than that. For example, trade unionists are often arrested for leading strikes. Many have been held in prison for long periods without a right to legal defense, without trial and without charges being formally laid.

In some cases special courts have been set up which hand out hasty and harsh sentences — always for more than two years — from which there is no appeal. These prisoners are held in inhuman conditions and many of them have been savagely tortured. So the purpose of my tour is to draw these conditions to the attention of the people of North America and to help mobilize world public opinion against these conditions.

Olson: Could you relate to us some of the history of the abrogation of civil rights in Argentina and elaborate on the present status of civil liberties there.



ARGENTINE DICTATOR. General Alejandro Lanusse

Zadunaisky: We can distinguish two distinct stages in recent history. When the present military regime took power in 1966, led by General Ongania, a state of siege was declared. In the period that followed, repression was indiscriminate. The repression was directed against the population as a whole. Ongania declared that he would remain in power for a period of from 15-20 years.

The first stage came to an end in May 1969 with the great uprising known as the "Cordobazo" (an uprising of the working class of the industrial city of Cordoba, supported by broad sectors of the population as a whole — V.O.). This uprising was followed by similar struggles in other industrial centers of the country. These uprisings involved hundreds of thousands of workers and students and they were directed specifically against the government policy of repression and against the absence of democratic rights.

The effect of these uprisings was to force the military government to call for elections to be held in March 1973. Also, the repression became more selective, (i.e. directed most often against working-class parties and leaders — V.O.) Although these uprisings helped to force the government to take a less repressive posture, there are still approximately 1,200 political prisoners in jails, many of whom have never actually been accused of any crime and who have not been taken to court. Some have been freed when the popular movement has forced the regime to do so.

However, the special courts are still operating and there is continuing torture on the part of the repressive forces. What's more, there are laws which specifically prohibit the press from publishing statements from such organizations as the "Parents of Political Prisoners." There is also the infamous "Anti-Communist Law" by which a person can be sentenced to more than two years in prison just for having a political pamphlet in his possession.

Dr. Silvio Frondizi — brother of the ex-president of the Republic, and one of the most prominent defenders of political prisoners — has been arrested. The offices of the newspaper he publishes have been bombed by para-military gangs and Dr. Frondizi's son was killed in the streets by the police in an obscure incident which was never cleared up.

MURDERED ARGENTINE GUERRILLAS being interviewed at Trelew airport after they surrendered.

Olson: What was the "Trelew Massacre" which was reported in the press here.

Zadunaisky: In August of last year, some 27 political prisoners — made desperate by the conditions existing in the prisons — escaped and managed to take over a small airport. Eight managed to get on a plane to Chile but 19 were left behind. As they had no means of escaping they surrendered to the authorities. They were taken to a naval base and on the night of Aug. 22 they were taken out of their cells and machine gunned by their guards. Sixteen died and three survived.

According to the official statement signed by the commander of the base and approved by President Lanusse, the prisoners had tried to escape again. The magazine "Primera Plana" published the testimony of the three survivors. The government's answer was to close down the magazine and throw the editor in prison.

Olson: What can Canadians do to assist in the struggle for civil liberties in Argentina?

Zadunaisky: At this point, the Argentine government is very preoccupied about its image — especially abroad. So whenever there is a campaign to free a political prisoner, which gets international solidarity, that puts pressure on the government and often means release of the prisoner. For example, there is the case of Casiana Ahumada, who was editor of a left liberal magazine and who was imprisoned. There was a campaign for her release which included a picket line in front of the Argentine consulate in New York. Her case was then taken to the courts and she was acquitted. In his final statement, the judge declared that he was setting her free because there had been demands, even in the United States, for her release. This is an example of what can be done by persons outside of Argentina.

For workers power in Argentina

continued from page 7

as good fighters and can be won. Paez doesn't want to confront them with an accomplished fact regarding his candidacy. Some time is needed. So it is better to nominate someone else for the presidential spot.

He says he was astounded by the meeting yesterday. It is something entirely new and very important. He would accept immediately if possible. He suggests perhaps another leader of union struggles could be found to take the top spot.

The ovation that follows is profound and powerful. The crowd is thinking hard.

A debate follows that divides the congress. Most of the party leaders and workers on one side, many of the youth, it appears, on the other. In this debate not only the delegates but the observers from the youth organization and from Frente Obrero speak. The issue is whether to proceed with the nomination of the PST members — Coral for president and Nora Ciapponi for vice-president — or to wait either for Paez to work things out in Cordoba or to find another union leader for the top spot.

For some of the youth the lure of the spirit of the Cordobazo is all important and they raise to the level of a principle having a worker as presidential candidate.

Nora Ciapponi, 30, qualifies in this respect. She is a longtime leader in the textile plants, though she has been blacklisted and is now a full-time party worker.

Coral is a professional politician. He has a long record of fighting against the dictatorship and of leadership in the movement in defense of the Cuban revolution, and in peasant struggles, but he is not a trade unionist.

On the other side the arguments go as follows: When we proposed Paez-Fote or Coral-Ciapponi it is because these are the best spokespersons, those who can present the front and the party in the most effective manner, who can take advantage of the TV, who can answer the press. The problem is political, not symbolic. Our inability at this moment to firm up the slate of Paez-Fote or a similar one of equal quality is not accidental. It is a result of the incipient character of the Frente Obrero, which is only a month old.

We are not going to take power in this election or even get a huge vote — and if we had a majority and waited for a bourgeois election we would be fools — but we are posing the question of workers power. We are beginning a process of breaking the vanguard of the workers from the capitalist political traps, particularly Peronism. It will take time.

The process will now begin in Cordoba, but we cannot be artificial about it. To field a less effective spokesperson because he or she is a worker would be counterproductive, not only for the party but for the Frente Obrero.

We should field a socialist-worker slate, using in the presidential slot the best orator and propagandist we have — and, what is more, a nationally prominent socialist figure. For vice-president we have a union leader who symbolizes the struggle of the most exploited workers and also the struggle of women against the capitalist system.

The debate is long and patient, and when the vote comes it is solidly for the Coral-Ciapponi slate. Then the whole audience joins in a chant: "For workers independence: Nora and Coral."

WOMAN CANDIDATE

There follow a number of technical points of business and the election of the national committee of the party. Then Nora Ciapponi speaks: "We want, and it is one of the objectives of my candidacy, to show to all the women of the working class that they should not be a base of moral support to the bosses, holding their comrades back . . . We want to show the working woman that she has a key role to play: Not just encouraging her companero, but demonstrating, alongside her companero, that she is capable of fighting along with the rest of the workers of our land."

I had met her earlier for a brief conversation. Soft-spoken, serious, an earthy sense of humor, tough. These were my impressions.

She continues: "We want to end, once and for all, the dependence of the workers movement on capitalist alternatives. We want to construct a truly revolutionary party that can bring to a successful conclusion the revolutionary process in our country.

"I don't know if some of the youth who today expressed doubts about the slate understand that this is not just a formula for candidates, but a formula to guide, to guarantee, a truly revolutionary process."

She ends with: "For a victory, not in votes, but in gathering together the best of the vanguard of the workers movement in the Frente Obrero! For the construction of our revolutionary party, which can guide the working class to take political power! Long live the Fourth International!"

It is a short speech, almost blunt, and the crowd loves it.

At the end of the congress two guests speak: Mateo Fossa, the leader of retired workers from Tucuman, and Paez once again. Paez says he is impressed by the congress, that he thinks it has done the right thing regarding the slate, that he agrees the most important thing is to build the revolutionary party. He says he would like to be a candidate, perhaps for governor of Cordoba, and to tour the country with the national candidates, and that he will propose this when he gets back to Cordoba.

It is the end of a long weekend. On the way back to my room I notice with renewed interest the many slogans and posters on the walls in Buenos Aires. One of the most common is a printed poster with a picture of Peron and the following text: "With Peron in the Country — Social Peace, Reconstruction, National Liberation." It is signed CGT, the big union federation led by Peronist bureaucrats.

By contrast, in the quiet night, the refrain of the meetings I have attended rings in my ears: "To fight, to win, Workers to power."

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2,200 in Argentine worker-socialist slate

(The following articles are from the Jan. 12 issue of Avanzada Socialista, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina. They describe the development of the election campaign of the Workers and Socialist Front, which was launched at a meeting of 2,000 workers and young people Dec. 16. The presidential ticket fielded by the Workers and Socialist Front is Juan Coral and Nora Ciapponi for president and vice-president. Translation is by Intercontinental Press.)

By the time the deadline arrived for obtaining official status for lists of candidates, the Socialist Workers party had put up candidates in twelve districts: the federal capital and the provinces of Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Chubut, La Pampa, Mendoza, Misiones, Neuquen, Rio Negro, San Luis, Santa Fe, and Tucuman. A total of around 2,200 candidates are running for the various offices. Many of them are not affiliated with our party but are representing the Workers' Front or the Socialist Front.

Argentine defense tour

Daniel Zadunaisky, a representative of the Argentine Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, told audiences in over a dozen Canadian cities about the brutality and torture used in the jails of Argentina against those who dare oppose the government. The biggest meeting of his three-week, whirlwind tour was at Vancouver's Simon Fraser University, where he addressed an audience of 130 at a teach-in on Latin America.

The tour was organized by the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, to bring together concerned Canadians to help free these prisoners. For more information about this and future tours, contact CC-JLAPP, P.O. Box 128, Station O, Toronto 16, Ontario.

In the provincial elections in Neuquen, the party is running in an alliance with the Partido Democrata Progresista (Progressive Democratic party), which, on a provincial level, accepted workers' candidacies, voted a socialist program, and is opposing the candidacy of Manrique.

As we went to press, we still did not have exact statistical data on the number of candidates running in all districts. At the moment, we can report the composition of the tickets in the following districts:

In Cordoba, the candidate is the leader of SITRAC (Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord — Concord Workers Union), Jose Paez, together with the leader of the teachers union in private education, Maria del Carmen Gonzalez. Another leader of SITRAC, Domingo Bizzi, is a candidate for national deputy, and an official of SITRAM (Sindicato de Trabajadores Materfer — Materfer Workers Union), Raul Suffi, is running for mayor of Cordoba.

In the province of Buenos Aires, the ticket consists of Jorge Mera (a leader of the bank workers and a former general representative of the workers at Banco Nacion) and Adela Mayer (the first woman to be elected a delegate in the CAP). The candidate for mayor of La Plata is Alejandro Bustos, the general representative of the workers in the State Printing Works, and for mayor of Bahia Blanca, Doctor Luis Dragunsky.

In Santa Fe, the gubernatorial candidate is a telephone worker, Jose Martin; and for lieutenant governor, an accountant, Carlos Mayola. A construction worker, Oscar Gallo, is running for mayor of Rosario.

VIVAN LAS CANDIDATURAS OBRERAS
FRENTE DE LOS TRABAJADORES
CORDOBA PRESENTE

ARGENTINE WORKERS FRONT: Banner held by workers from Cordoba reads "Long live the workers' candidates! The Workers Front of Cordoba is present!

The candidates for the governorship of San Luis and Rio Negro provinces (where the lieutenant governorship is not an elective post) are, respectively, Doctor Jorge Manzur and Rene Casamiquela, a teacher.

Finally, two doctors, Arturo Brandt and Vicente Diaz, make up the ticket in Misiones, where the first announced candidate for national senator is a leader of the light and power workers, Lorenzo Fernandez.

In La Pampa, the candidates for governor and lieutenant governor are workers: Roberto Zapata, a railroad worker, and Leonide Romero, a construction worker.

Heading the list of candidates for municipal posts in the federal capital are Eduardo Sorans, leader of the Chrysler strike (representing the Workers' Front), Francisco Fontana (PSP), and bank workers' leader Hector Alvarez (the Workers' Front). Heading the list of candidates for national deputy are Radames Grano, former leader of the retail clerks, and Alberto Lissarrague, general representative of the insurance workers and a companero of the PSP.

On the basis of a political document signed on Jan. 4, the Socialist Workers party and the Federal Capital Federation of the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP — Popular Socialist party) have formed a Socialist Front.

A preamble in ten points establishes the need to struggle against the "Great National Agreement" and to form a front of Argentine socialist forces that would be "open to all who agree on a clear, class-struggle, anti-imperialist program for bringing about a socialist Argentina." The front considers it valid and essential to jointly intervene in the electoral process (even though this is not the way in which power will be won) in order to confront the liberal, populist and reformist parties. It was decided to attempt to win other organizations to the front and to approve the policy of the Front of Workers' Candidates as the best way to oppose the various bourgeois alternatives and to raise the need for independent political action on the part of the workers.

Following the preamble, seven motions specify the nature of the front, urge that it be extended to the entire country, and set March 11, 1973, as the date when the term of its provisional leadership will expire. At that time, the relations between the participating forces and the actions they have carried out in common will be reevaluated. Both organizations will maintain their independence as far as their own activities are concerned and will put up a list of candidates with the Workers' Front. Nationally, the front will support the Coral-Ciapponi ticket.

The working out of this agreement sets an example for all socialist forces and shows that a fighting union of class-struggle and socialist forces can be achieved through the workers' candidates and the Workers' Front.

EN FABRICAS, GREMIOS Y BARRIOS FORM
COMITES DE APOYO AL FRENTE OBRERO!!
Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores

Slogan on wall calls for committees of support to the Workers Front campaign in factories, unions and neighborhoods.

labor Challenge

ARGENTINA

How Trotskyists led steel strike

The following article was written for Liberation. the Quebec revolutionary socialist monthly, by the Argentine Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno. Moreno is an Executive Committee member of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers Party) in Argentina, now the largest Trotskyist party in Latin America. Moreno has been a leader of the Latin America Trotskyist movement since the 1940s and edits together with the Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco, Revista de America, a bi-monthly theoretical journal.

For an on-the-spot report of the PST convention and the launching of the Workers Front in the election campaign, see Labor Challenge, January 22, 1973.

by NAHUEL MORENO

I intended to write an article to explain to the left in other countries the importance of the current electoral process for the Argentine revolutionary movement and for our Trotskyist party, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. But ... man proposes and the class struggle disposes. All of a sudden a strike and factory occupation has occurred at Somisa, the most important steel plant in the country. It can be said, without exaggeration, that this event has staggered all of Argentine politics and has put to the test all the leaderships and programs of the parties which claim to be part of the labor movement and the left. Let's have a little closer look at what has happened.

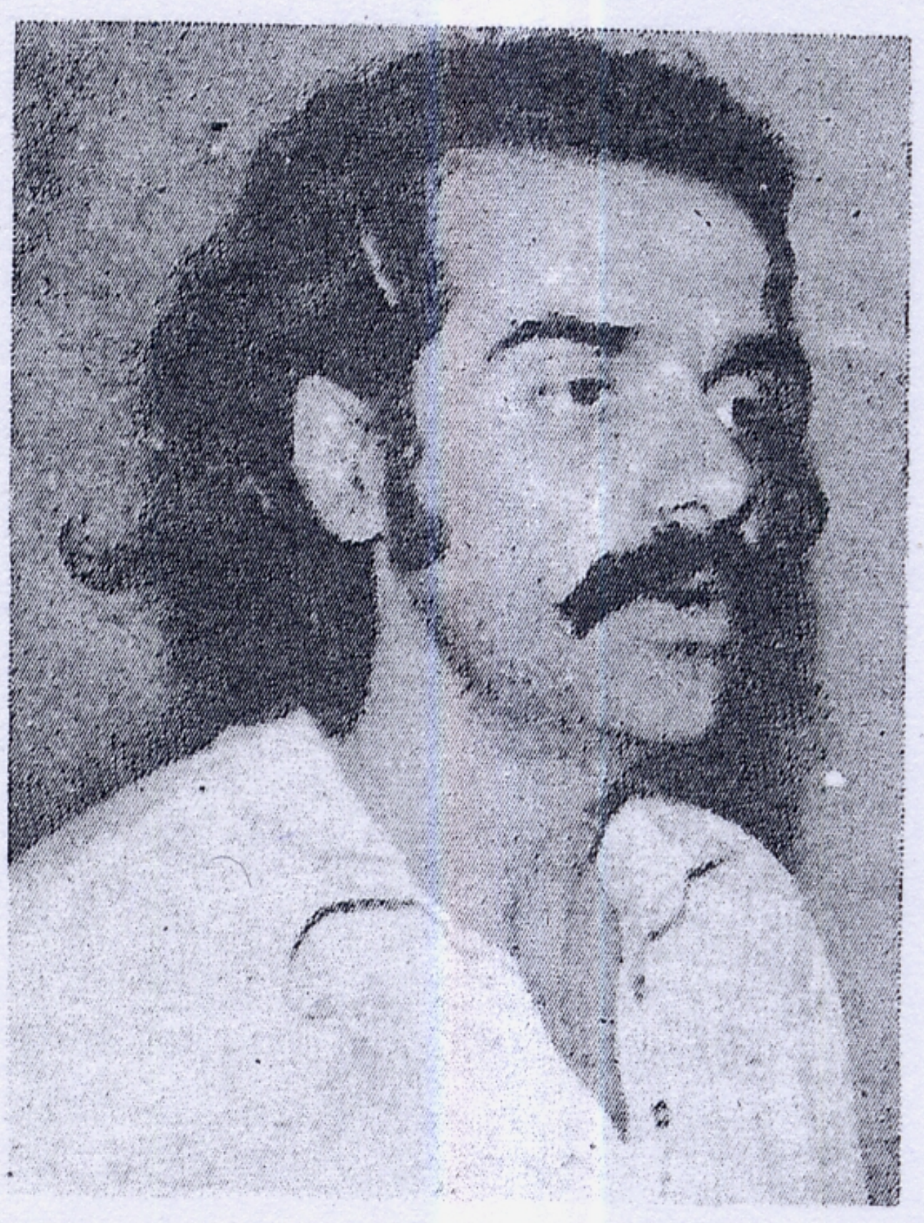
THE TRADE UNION SITUATION

The workers of Argentina are solidly and massively organized in unions. Although there are no official statistics, we can figure that about 90 percent of the proletariat is unionized. By law, only one union is recognized in each industry, and there is only one federation of labor. The unions are colossal bureaucratic apparatuses, similar to those of Europe and North America. Union dues checkoff is required by law — they are deducted at the source. Each union, at the same time, controls the medical and social services of its members, which allows them to manipulate enormous sums of money and to set up a widespread bureaucracy. The union of commercial employees, for example, has about two or three thousand on staff. It is about the same for all the big unions.

When the national bourgeoisie, together with imperialism, got rid of the Peron government in 1955, they tried to crush the Argentine workers movement and its union organizations at the same time, and bring in a government like the one in Brazil now. The resistance of the working class sabotaged their plans and forced the exploiters to change tactics: instead of destroying the unions, they would control and debase their leadership by buying them off. This tactic had better results. We say "better results" and not complete success, because, in the tradition of Argentine trade unions for the last 30 years, a sort of factory committee has established itself and continued to exist. These internal factory commissions and delegate bodies give voice to the union ranks and permit the success of great working class mobilizations. They have put a stop to the regime several times.

THE REASON FOR THE SOMISA STRIKE

The most powerful of all the Argentine unions from the point of view of both numbers and organization (it has 350,000 members) is that of the metalworkers, the UOM (Union Obrera Metalurgica). This union comprises all workers who work with metals, except the autoworkers who have their own organization.



Jorge Mera

Traditionally, there has been contention between these two unions for control of some plants related to auto production. The steel industry, ranging from light manufacturing of ventilators through semi-heavy fabrication of refrigerators to steel production itself, is grouped in the metalworkers union.

But the steelworkers consider themselves part of another industry like the autoworkers, and refuse to continue as part of the metal industry. They have organized their own steel union of whom the principal members are the workers at the Somisa plant which makes steel for the military.

This factory is at San Nicolas, a port near the city of Buenos Aires. This attitude of the steelworkers flows out of general reasons of production and industry, but also out of more concrete motives: the bureaucratic character of the UOM and especially of its San Nicolas section.

This section is the personal fiefdom of the present head of the CGT (General Federation of Labor), Jose Rucci, right-hand man of the government and of Peron, friend of the Spanish phalangists and tied in with a fascist organization led by one of the best-known members of the Argentine oligarchy, Anchorena. He publicly brags about being an enemy of the left and of the Marxists. He travels in luxurious cars, surrounded by bodyguards recruited from the underworld and armed to the teeth.

Just over a month ago an episode took place which illustrates this character very well: Rucci found himself at the international airport at the same time as a left-Peronist union leader, whose companions started to call Rucci a traitor. The response of his bodyguards was to open fire on them.

In San Nicolas, Rucci has established a reign of terror. About a hundred of his bodyguards, with a carte blanche from the police, hunt down any militant who opposes the bureaucratic leadership of the union.

THE STRIKE BREAKS OUT

The great majority of steelworkers demanded more than a year ago of the government that they recognize the new steelworkers union (STSA — Sindicato de Trabajadores Siderugicos de la Argentina). They got no response, although they went through all the required formalities.

Tuesday, Jan. 23, Rucci's goons found three of the union leaders holding a telephone conversation, and seized the opportunity to beat them up. Wednesday, the whole Somisa factory boiled with indignation when they heard the news, but the workers took no action because there did not exist in the plant any recognized leadership to organize the response. Thursday morning, the Workers Front candidate for mayor of San Nicolas, Comrade Luis Gomez, organized a work stoppage.

Very rapidly, under the leadership of this candidate, the strike spread and the 8,000 workers occupied the plant and refused to leave. The banner of the strike was the bloody shirt of one of the comrades beaten by the bureaucrats' goons. Their two slogans were: Goons out of the plant! Recognize the steelworkers union!

THE PROFOUND MEANING OF THE STRIKE

This is, to our knbwledge, the first strike and occupation organized against the army itself in recent years. It must be underlined that the owner of the plant, the boss, is the army. It is a military factory under military management.

The army responded in a menacing way: they surrounded the factory with troops and ordered the workers to leave, threatening to move them out with force. The workers' answer was unanimous: they placed explosives all around the plant and threatened to blow it up if the army entered. The army didn't go in. Instead, the government and military went to the courts — their first retreat.

The federal judge and the police, in a moderate tone, tried to explain to the strikers that what they were doing was against the law, against the whole Penal Code, and promised to them that "if they leave of their own volition, nothing would happen to them." But the workers didn't understand this business of codes and continued their occupation.

With such a situation, the director of military production, General Chescotta, was urgently called in to guarantee to the workers that the Ministry of Labor would meet with them and that, for the first time, their demands would be considered — second retreat.

But no difference — the workers wouldn't obey their bosses' boss either. General Sanchez de Bustamante who is, with Lanusse and Lopez Aufrano, one of the three generals of the Argentine army high command — not just anybody, in other words — had to go himself to San Nicolas — third retreat.

Sanchez de Bustamante gave his word and promised to solve all the problems. The workers occupying the plant were divided. The leadership of the steel union thought they should accept. Comrade Luis Gomez, for his part, thought they had better have the solutions before giving up the factory. The workers who supported the union leaders, tired by several days of occupation, left the plant without waiting to hear the results of the assembly. Those who stayed demanded guarantees — that there be no reprisals against them. This was given, and they too withdrew.

THE IMPACT ON PUBLIC OPINION

The press, both written and spoken, played up the strike. Comrade Gomez appeared on all the national television networks as the leader of the occupation, because he was the workers' official spokesman and their representative to the press.

To cite only one example, La Nacion, the New York Times of the Argentine press, in its Jan. 29 edition, pointed out the leaders of the strike as: "Luis Moises Gomez, formerly a Radical and presently mayoralty candidate in San Nicolas for the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores; Alberto Cano, Radical; Francisco Diaz Jordan, ex-priest and member of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores; Estanislao Parra Puente, president of the Commission of Bolivian Residents in San Nicolas; Miguel Arias, Jose Antonio Cartelli, Juan Andres Citriano, Jorge Ivan Hueza, Ebe Nildo Peralta and Ricardo Gonzales; all of these without political affiliation."

Like La Nacion, many other organs of the media highlighted the role of Luis Gomez, one of the 2,300 candidates of our party.

PERONISTS AND ANTI-PERONISTS EXPOSED

Peron has lived in exile for 17 years. Thanks to the vast mobilizations of the working class which have staggered bourgeois order, popularly known as the Cordobazo or Rosariazo ("azo" is a Spanish suffix meaning "a big punch;" Cordoba and Rosario are cities where these semi-insurrections have taken place — Ed.), the bourgeoisie and imperialism were obliged to authorize Peron's return and call elections.

Since 1969, as a result of the working class upsurge, the capitalist regime in our country has been in a crisis which has forced all sectors of the bourgeoisie to unite. Peron's return is an indicator of the common scheme of the exploiters to detour workers' struggles into parliamentarism and bourgeois elections. To better serve the national bourgeoisie, Peron has adopted an attitude of opposing the government, while he makes all sorts of deals in the wings with the military.

The class struggle has, among other advantages, that of putting everyone in their place. The Somisa strike has united the entire bourgeoisie, Peronist as well as anti-Peronist.

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File →

Fascist danger in Chile

Right wing prepares for civil war

The following article is reprinted from Intercontinental Press. Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian Trotskyist leader, was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison as a result of his work in organizing peasant unions in the early 1960s. He was released from prison in 1970, after serving eight years. In 1971 he was deported to Mexico because of his revolutionary activity. He is currently living in exile in Chile.

by HUGO BLANCO

SANTIAGO — Along with the strengthening of the right wing inside the Unidad Popular government a strengthening of fascism is also occurring.

Of the two best-known organizations that represent fascism in Chile, Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom) and "Rolando Matus," it is the former that might have pretensions of being respectable.

Its full name is Frente Nacionalista Patria y Libertad (Nationalist Front for Fatherland and Freedom). It was formed two years ago. Its founder and general secretary, Roberto Thieme, died in an accident last February 23 while (in the words of his cothinkers) "carrying out a patrol in the province of Concepcion." Another of its "heroes," Hector Castillo Fuentealba, is honored as having been "murdered by a socialist activist in Chillan on December 20, 1972."

This group has a higher degree of organization, discipline, armed preparation, and determination than any other Chilean party, whether of the left or the right.

In spite of its small size, it has public headquarters (no one knows how many clandestine ones) and a newspaper, Patria y Libertad. Its "swastika" is a stylized spider.

It has already carried out many "actions," primarily against squatters in marginal areas, in cases where hoarding of goods had been uncovered, or when homeless persons have taken over unused land. In these cases, or when certain factories have been occupied, members of the group have functioned as shock troops for the capitalists. They also carried out a great deal of activity during the election campaign, storming the headquarters of left-wing parties or using firearms to attack propaganda teams of these parties. On such occasions, they were joined by members of other right-wing parties, such as the National party and the Christian Democracy.

Patria y Libertad feels that "there is no political solution" for the present situation in Chile.

At the end of March it stated:

"With this second anniversary, we are holding the first national gathering of our leaders, with provincial heads from the entire country also in attendance. This will be the best opportunity for us to redouble our faith in nationalism and to prepare ourselves, with greater self-sacrifice than ever, for the great battle that awaits us in the immediate future. Every day brings the day of liberation closer. This is a day not to be waited for but to fight for. It will be we nationalists who will return dignity, freedom, and a future to our captive fatherland."

The gathering was dubbed the Expanded National Council. The main agreement reached was operation SACO (Sistema de Accion Civica Organizada — System of Organized Civic Action). The internal document explaining this operation could not be kept secret — or (more likely) Patria y Libertad "leaked" it so that it would be given wide circulation.

The following are the main points of the "black commands," as they are now known:

For professionals who work in the Social Sector of the economy (companies that have been taken over by the state):

"Make a brief report on the firm's financing and the banks where money is deposited, as well as the persons in charge of the depositing, and to the extent possible on the firm's monthly financial status .... Draw up a list of stocks and supplies, and the names of the respective importers and the usual suppliers .... Draw up a list of the kind of machines that are used, detailing the sources of energy, water, or fuel and the emergency electrical plants ....

"Do not teach their technological methods or their codes .... Do not report their experiments to the UP.... Do not train anyone in the UP.... Remove plans and manuals dealing with their projected and present operations and maintenance, and in cases where this is not possible, create chaos in the archives. If you are involved in planning, raise the margin of certainty for every estimate and quantity .... Call for the maximum possible number of accessories, and the minimum possible amount of information (memory) .... Increase the personnel involved in 'dead work,' administrative aides, day laborers, and service personnel, without rationalizing activities or mechanizing the work that is performed ...."

For private contractors:

"Under legal pretexts, let the contracts of Marxist workers or employees lapse if they are constantly attempting to form cells that are preparing to take over the company .... Industrialists will have to win over their workers through pledges that involve small cost to the company .... Lunch, coffee break, etc., and small breakfasts for those who live furthest away .... Wor[illegible]es, vacation retreats, emergency funds, scholarships for children of the most outstanding workers, free time for going to school, help in paying for books and for enrolling to obtain

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training . . . .

"The industrialist will have to do business preferentially, and later exclusively, with the democratic clients included on the list provided by the coordination center . . . . In cases where state-run companies exert pressure to bring about sale of a product, payment in cash will be required, partial deliveries of the goods will be made, and increased prices will be charged . . . . The distribution of products will be entrusted only to democratic distributors; in case of state repression, only products of lower quality and in lesser quantity will be delivered to the social sector, and this will be done with delays and dragged-out negotiations over the matter . . . .

"In case of illegal take-overs of plants, the owner will notify the coordination center in advance of all details and the names and addresses of the leaders, etc., and the appropriate protective mechanism will be provided . . . ."

For ranchers:

"Draw up a sketch with the location of the property and access roads, paths, crossings, and tracks that can be used as alternatives in blocking roads . . . . Lists of their own available means of transportation, or hired trucks capable of carrying freight (preferably with fully licensed drivers) . . . . Reports on the type, frequency, and schedule of stations for overhauling and repairing the same . . . . Volunteers for organizing a system of signs and road patrols that can facilitate the moving of transport . . . . Attempts could be made to enlist the cooperation of private planes and ham radio operators in perfecting the system . . . .

"Produce basic foods — beans, lentils, chick-peas, potatoes, corn, etc. — in the best soil and in small plots that are not liable to be detected, but that produce a high yield and high quality . . . . Furnish SOCOAGRO (state distribution agency) with false reports on the yield per plot and the possibilities of the property. It will be necessary to give the impression of cooperating in order to obtain allowances and other credits, but the major part of what is produced will be delivered through SACO . . . .

"Form self-defense nuclei and an information system by means of loyal workers who infiltrate the peasant settlements and the estates that have been expropriated throughout the zone. Reinforcement nuclei will be set up in the towns together with a warning system involving the cooperation of civil servants in financial bodies . . . . Activists in the UP (FTR-MIR (Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios-Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Front of Revolutionary Workers-Movement of the Revolutionary Left)) will be identified, and they will be subjected to constant surveillance and possible psychological or physical intimidation."

For neighbors:

"Fathers will instruct their children in detail about the meaning of totalitarianism, using oral and graphic examples of it throughout the world, and they will indicate to their children who the Marxist totalitarian agents are so that they can avoid physical contact with them and isolate them. . . . On a permanent basis they will make them read about or will call their attention to the daily brutality of Marxism, using a wide number of examples to teach them about the unsuitability of the dogma. . . .

"SACO section heads will get from their neighbors the location of cells and the meeting places for pro-UP businessmen, for the JAP (Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios — Supply and Price Control Boards), and for distributing rationed goods; the names and nicknames of militants and their movements, places of operation, etc. . . .

"Sustained campaigns involving psychological intimidation will be carried out, using slogans and propaganda aimed at UP militants, as well as rumors and scare stories aimed at UP women and their children; these will be furnished by SACO. . . . Follow a policy of ill will: Offer no transportation to UP people; give no aid to UP people; do not lend to, obtain from, speak to, compete with, or maintain friendly relations with UP people. . . . Boycott the directives of the UP Neighborhood Boards with perfectly organized groups whose aims are clear and precise."

As can be seen, fascism is formulating its line of action with ever-increasing clarity. In its lexicon — in addition to the special meaning it gives to concepts like "democracy" (i.e., the international right) and "totalitarianism" — UP means the entire left and every individual worker, student, or squatter in the vanguard. "Unionists" are those who participated in the bosses' strike last October. The front page of the latest issue of Patria y Libertad carried the following headline: "Nationalism, Unionism, and Armed Forces: The Only Alternatives for Power."

The Christian Democracy bemoans the "irresponsibility of Patria y Libertad" and whiningly asks a few questions: "1) If the political process is blocked by the institutional deadlock, what are their feelings about continuing to adhere to democratic principles? 2) If the political process becomes blocked, do they propose straightforwardly a coup d'etat against Allende? 3) Are they in a position to perform such a coup by themselves, or do they expect the armed forces to take part in it? 4) Do they believe, if they are in their right mind, that the armed forces would carry out a coup d'etat in Chile? And if they do believe this, do they think that the armed forces would do it on behalf of their movement?"

This sniveling is not preventing the Christian Democracy's members from being polarized in the direction of Patria y Libertad, whic they definitely feel is more "in its right mind" than Frei or Tomic.

Although the UP denounces certain attacks by Patria y Libertad on inhabitants of marginal shantytowns, its position is confusionist. The government secretary general, Anibal Palma, for instance, denounced the attitude of squatters and workers participating in occupations as a plot by the MIR and Patria y Libertad. Statements of this kind confuse the people and can only work to the advantage of the fascist groups.

Only the strength of the organized workers, continuing their struggle without letting themselves be held back by vacillating and traitorous leaderships, can force fascism to retreat. The real accomplices of Patria y Libertad are not the workers who are mobilizing in defense of their interests. On the contrary, they are the worst enemy of fascism. The true accomplices are those who hold back and vilify this mobilization of the masses.

Argentina Left and the Campora gov't

by DAVE FRANKEL

The installation of the Campora government in Argentina May 25 and the upsurge of guerrilla actions that led up to it have provoked widespread discussion on the attitude of the different radical parties in Argentina toward the new regime.

The Ejercito Revolucionario del Peublo 22 de Agosto (Aug. 22 Revolutionary Army of the People), a group that has been among the most active in carrying out guerrilla actions against the armed forces, supports the Peronist regime. In a statement printed in the March 8 issue of the Buenos Aires daily Cronica, it was announced that "the ERP 22 de Agosto calls on the people to deal the dictatorship a defeat at the polls by voting massively for the FREJULI (the Peronist electoral front) slates . . . ."

The ERP 22 de Agosto represents a split-off from another guerrilla group known simply as the ERP. Both groups have been referred to as Trotskyist in the international press. The ERP 22 de Agosto has not made any statement on its attitude toward Trotskyism. However, in an editorial note preceding an interview in the May 11-17 issue of Chile HOY with two spokesmen of the ERP it was explained that "being a Marxist-Leninist is not a requirement for those who are active in the ERP."

The editorial note also explained that the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party), which founded the ERP and works within it, "defines itself as Marxist-Leninist, and considers the label 'Trotskyist' to be 'inadequate.' "

In the Chile HOY interview, the ERP spokesman explained that "the main factor with Peronism, and even more with the FREJULI, is its bourgeois character." The Campora regime, they explained, "will represent essentially bourgeois and capitalist interests."

Nevertheless, they say, "the majority of the working class and the people opted for the slates run by the FREJULI. The campaign of these slates was based on an energetic and productive confrontation with the government and on proguerrilla arguments."

LOYALTY. New Argentine president Hector Campora embraces his leader, Juan Peron.

The ERP spokesmen explained their attitude toward Campora's appeal for a suspension of guerrilla actions after May 25 by saying, "We believe that the Campora government represents the popular will. Out of respect for this will, our organization will not attack the new government as long as it does not attack the people or the guerrilla movement. Our organization will continue to struggle militarily against the large, exploitative companies, imperialist ones for the most part, and the counterrevolutionary armed forces. But it will not direct its attacks against government institutions or against any member of the government of President Campora.

"As for the police, which is supposedly under the executive branch, in spite of the fact that it has acted as an active auxiliary of the oppressive army during these past few years, the ERP will suspend its attacks against it as long as it does not cooperate with the army in hunting down the guerrilla movement and in repressing popular demonstrations."

The April 24 issue of Corriere della Sera, a Milan daily, published an interview with the founding central leader of the ERP, Mario Roberto Santucho. In the interview Santucho said, "We will not lay down our arms on May 25, but we will continue fighting the multinational corporations. We will give conditional support to President Campora and we will back the measures we consider positive. We will support the most radical sectors of the Peronist movement but not all of it, because Justicialism is a movement with many faces, with both left-wing and right-wing currents."

The Argentine Communist Party is also supporting the Campora government. In a March 20 statement it called for a vote for FREJULI on the second round of balloting. The Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party — PST), advancing the Trotskyist view, took up the decision of the CP to support Campora in the March 28 issue of its newspaper, Avanzada Socialista.

"We must support each and every one of the anti-imperialist or democratic measures of the new government," it said. "But we must insist that the workers be mobilized independently and without confidence in it. Only in this way can the measures we anti-imperialists raise be carried out. Only in this way will we defeat the oligarchy."

During the elections the PST formed a Workers Front, which sought to counterpose a working-class alternative to all of the bourgeois parties. Its program declared that it stood "against FREJULI . . . and all other parties of the bosses." During the second round of voting the PST called for the casting of blank ballots, since there was no working-class alternative to the bourgeois parties.

On May 15 the United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a statement explaining that "the incoming Campora administration will seek to exploit interimperialist contradictions and to gain mass support through populist demagogy."

In explaining the attitude Argentine revolutionists should take toward the Campora government the statement said, "While not excluding critical support for possible anti-imperialist measures that might be enacted by the Campora government, they will maintain an attitude of unconditional political opposition to this new bourgeois government. They will carry on an unceasing struggle for the emancipation of the working class from the influence of bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois political organizations, and the grip of the superbureaucratized union apparatus. They will fight for the independent organization of the proletariat and other exploited layers with the perspective of establishing workers and popular committees. They will battle for the building of a mass revolutionary Leninist party."

— The Militant

1971 CORDOBA UPRISING. Mass workers upsurge in Argentine cities showed that military dictatorship was unable to maintain social peace. Peronists were allowed to take power in attempt to resolve crisis.

THE COMING CONFRONTATION

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Assassination strengthened the Right

Trotskyist stance on terrorism

The last two months have seen a wave of terrorist actions by left and Peronist guerrillas in Argentina. These have included the kidnapping of Rear Admiral Francisco Aleman on April 2; the kidnapping of Lieutenant Colonel Jacobo Nasif, the regional commander of the Cordoba police on April 26; the assassination of Colonel Hector Alberto Iribarren, chief of intelligence of Argentina's Third Army, on April 4; the assassination of retired Rear Admiral Hermes Jose Quijada, the former chief chairman of Argentina's joint chiefs of staff, on April 30; and the May 22 shootings of two Ford executives, which prompted Ford to pay $1-million in medical supplies to Argentine hospitals in return for an end to the attacks.

The following statement on the assassination of Quijada explains the Trotskyist position on terrorist actions of this type. It was published in the May 2 issue of Avanzada Socialista, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers party). The article was entitled "The Death of Quijada Aids the Right." The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

A guerrilla organization has killed Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada in an attack carried out in the heart of downtown Buenos Aires. The action was impressive both in terms of its boldness and its victim, who was a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and one of the main officials of the navy at the time of the Trelew massacre (Aug. 22, 1972).

The government decreed a state of emergency in the capital and in the largest provinces, which means that the military authorities assumed full powers, with no opportunity for appeal in the civil courts. A War Tribunal was set up and empowered to apply the death penalty in summary judgment.

Coming twenty-five days before the new government takes over, the death of Quijada is not going to substantially alter things. Initial statements by the high commands reaffirm their earlier decision to relinquish the reins of government. Parallel to this, Lanusse sent a telegram to Campora stressing an invitation to discuss the pacification of the country. Campora agreed, and now the Peronist leadership is increasing, if that be possible, the conciliatory tone it adopted after tossing Galimberti overboard.

But there can be no doubt that within this context those sectors that are opposed to turning the government over to the FREJULI (Frente Justicialista de Liberacion — Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist coalition), or who want to impose prior conditions upon it and compromise it as much as possible with the oligarchy, now find themselves in a stronger position. The most likely thing is that now they will hand over power to the FREJULI, but only after imposing conditions — which we cannot be sure Campora will reject.

And one direct consequence of the attack is that at a time when various unions are involved in struggles, and with only a short time remaining before the new government for which the workers voted takes office, May Day demonstrations were banned, making the process of reorganizing the workers movement more difficult. One of the groups most hurt (as a result of the attack) is the Juventud Peronista (JP — Peronist Youth), which was dealt a double blow: Peron "cleaned out" (JP leader Rodolpho) Galimberti, and, following the attack, the planned march on the Congress was banned.

We have polemicized at length in the pages of Avanzada Socialista with the guerrilla organizations. Many times we have insisted that their actions, which are isolated from the struggles of the masses, do not aid the struggle for immediate goals, nor do they bring socialism nearer, nor do they educate the workers about the necessity to become protagonists in the struggle; on the contrary, these actions strengthen the forces of reaction.

The killing of Quijada, unfortunately, only confirms the correctness of our position.

The working class and its vanguard are today fighting two decisive battles: to win the release of all the political prisoners and to win nationalization, under workers control, of certain monopolistic companies that are involved in a conflict with the state or with their own workers. This is the situation in the outstanding cases of Codex (a publishing house) and Standard Electric.

By strengthening the right wing and the most reactionary sectors, the new attack does nothing more than place an obstacle in the path of this struggle that has already begun. And let it not be said in reply that the working class thereby receives a stimulus toward combativity, since, by its very nature, this kind of action is not regarded by the workers as something suitable for them to emulate; at most it might arouse astonishment at its boldness. The fact is that individual terrorism — however strongly it is propagated — cannot be a substitute for mass struggle.

The system can replace thousands of its officials, however valuable they may be; losing them is not going to be enough to bring about its collapse. Moreover, to kill many of them in violence confuses vast layers of the people, who see that both the reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the guerrillas, on the other, resort to a totally arbitrary "justice" that is neither controlled by nor carried out by the masses, even though it may be performed in their name.

For this reason, we repeat: The effect of this type of guerrilla actions is the opposite of what their authors proclaim or want; they actually strengthen the forces of reaction.

labor Challenge

Mass upsurge frees political prisoners

Peronists assume office

Late in the evening of his inauguration May 25, Argentina's new Peronist president, Hector Campora announced a sweeping amnesty for all the country's political prisoners. Campora's decision, under the pressure of the mass movement, was a clear vindication of the political forces — the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers Party) in their forefront — which had made release of the political prisoners a central issue in the recent Argentine election campaign.

FAP
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FREEING POLITICAL PRISONERS. Thousands of demonstrators stormed Villa Devoto Prison in Buenos Aires, May 25, while prisoners seized control of some cellblocks. Government yielded and released prisoners.

While during his own campaign, Campora promised an amnesty that was "broad, generous and just," this was broadly understood to mean that some of the prisoners, presumably the non-Peronist guerrillas, would remain incarcerated. But the PST and others insisted that every single political prisoner be freed as the first act of the Campora government. The huge and festive crowd that gathered in the Plaza de Mayo early on the day of the inauguration made this their central demand.

But what really forced Campora to grant total amnesty were events at Villa Devoto Prison in Buenos Aires where many political prisoners were being held.

While political and common prisoners seized control of several of the prison's cellblocks, 50,000 demonstrators assembled outside in late afternoon to demand the release of the prison's political inmates. By 9:00 p.m. the government announced that the political prisoners would be released that night. By 11:00 the first prisoners were freed.

Only in the small hours of the morning, when the crowd had dwindled to a nucleus of some 2,000, did the police make any show of force on the scene. In an ensuing clash two youthful demonstrators were killed, their deaths to subsequently become the pretext for attacks by the Peronist regime on its left-wing opponents.

Rebellions similar to the one at Villa Devoto occurred in several other prisons throughout Argentina.

The massive popular outpouring on May 25 took on the character of a festival as the Argentine masses expressed their great hopes for the new government. The momentum of the mass upsurge has significantly altered the relation of forces between the elected government and the military — to the advantage of the Peronists.

Yet the rising expectations of the masses can cause insoluble problems for the Campora regime. Only a little more than a week before Campora's inauguration, 2,000 public employees in the northern city of San Luis occupied government buildings, the first such action in Argentina's history. When the government was forced to capitulate to their demands, the workers demonstrated in the streets chanting "Fight and Win, Workers to Power!"

The new Campora government has been forced to move quickly to assure the people that it really intends to carry out its election promises. The first act of the Peronist-led Congress, when it met on May 26 was a unanimous declaration of amnesty for all political prisoners, going even beyond the special pardon pronounced by Campora the night before. In addition, the parliament enacted the government's proposals to abolish the repressive legislation of the dictatorship, including the special courts going back to 1966, and the anti-subversive law.

The government also announced establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba, North Korea, and East Germany. A wage increase has been promised to Argentine workers.

PERON
LOS TROP
Balca
100

BUENOS AIRES, MAY 25. Tens of thousands of Argentines celebrate Peronist victory.

The impatience of the Argentine masses is reflected in a series of actions carried in the wake of Campora's inauguration. Three thousand pensioners and retired people demonstrated May 28 for an immediate, emergency increase in their incomes.

On May 29 more than 20,000 students and workers rallied to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the 1969 Cordoba uprising, the culmination of a series of popular explosions in the provincial industrial towns of Argentina that was touched off by brutal government repression. After the rally, 4,000 of the participants marched to the center of the city, where they were addressed by a woman leader of the Trotskyist PST.

Teachers, students and university employees occupied the schools and rectorships of the national universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata. Their action, as they described it, was "to prevent the outgoing authorities from removing compromising documents, and, at the same time to carry out an experiment in government by the students, teachers, and nonteaching staff of the universities." Campora's inaugural speech promised substantial educational reform.

Through his initial reforms Campora has attempted to consolidate his support among the Argentine masses. If he can win sufficient mass confidence with his popular first acts, he can postpone more far-reaching programs. Time gained may be used to cut down political opposition to his left.

The deaths at Villa Devoto Prison have served the government as a pretext for turning its fire on the left-wing groups. The Peronist Youth, organizers of the march on the prison, subsequently issued a statement assigning responsibility for the deaths to "various groups that showed that they do not know the meaning of the popular triumph."

In Madrid, ex-president Juan D. Peron issued a sharp warning against "Trotskyist provocateurs." "We are completing an operation," he said, "that will eliminate all pretexts for the provocations of the 'gorillas' (far-right military elements) and the Trotskyists." The edge of the government's attack was directed particularly at the Ejertico Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Army of the People — ERP), one of the best known of the guerrilla groups, often described in the world press as "Trotskyist."

In a news conference June 8 in Buenos Aires, however, leaders of the ERP denied that their organization was involved in any attempt to break into the Villa Devoto prison.

According to the Buenos Aires daily Clarin, the ERP leaders declared: "The ERP is not Trotskyist. It has an anti-imperalist and socialist program and includes Marxists, Peronists and Christians . . . . The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores exercises leadership and defines itself as Marxist-Leninist. It was linked to the **'Fourth International'** but we **have moved away'** " (emphasis in original).

The ERP continues to reject the "truce" called for by the government. ERP leader Mario Roberto Santucho is quoted in Le Monde: "The ERP will not attack the government unless the government attacks the people or represses the guerrillas. But our organization will continue its hostilities against foreign and Argentine companies and against the counterrevolutionary armed forces."

With the great popular hopes invested in the new regime and the massive and enthusiastic support it is enjoying in its first days, the Peronists are in a position to exert strong pressures against the guerrillas. Peron's return to Argentina, scheduled for June 21, when his supporters predict he will be met by two million people, will offer an excellent opportunity for attacking any groups the ex-president considers dangerous to the new regime of "peace and progress."

Alta. CUPE strike makes history

by RICHARD THOMPSON

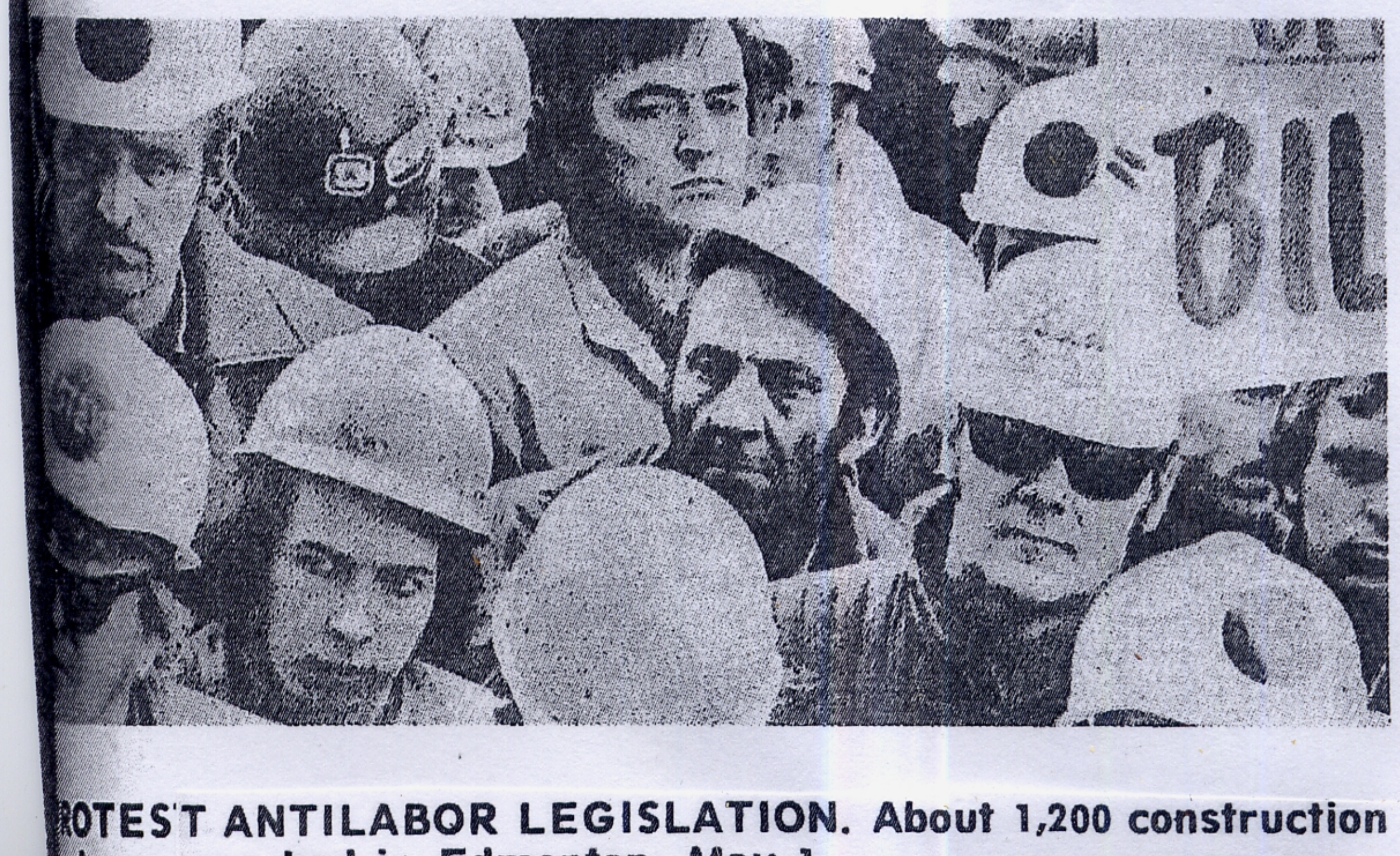
EDMONTON — "This is a strike of 'firsts,' " Grace Hartman, national secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) told an enthusiastic and militant crowd of nearly 1,000 hospital workers on June 13. The striking members of CUPE Local 41 at the Royal Alexandra, Edmonton's second-largest hospital, are demanding a basic minimum salary of $100 per week and a 35-hour work week.

Hartman explained that this was the first hospital strike, while 5,000 CUPE members in hospitals across Alberta are in the midst of negotiations. She said that this was the first time in CUPE's history "in which the public has been so clearly on the side of the strikers." And it was the first time a CUPE local anywhere has gone on strike to break the 40-hour work week. Hartman spoke of the determination of women hospital workers, 70 percent of Local 41's membership, "who won't settle for what men are prepared to dole out."

The victory already won by Royal Alexandra hospital nurses, whose vote to strike in early May forced the hospital board to give in to most of their demands, has inspired hospital and public workers across the province.

The Local 41 membership have twice voted down settlements agreed to by their own negotiating committee, which had little stomach for hard bargaining or a fight.

This is a key strike for CUPE in Alberta. Not only the 5,000 hospital workers in CUPE are looking to its outcome, but so are most of the 23,000 members of the Civil Service of Alberta (CSA). The CSA is an ineffective provincial association which is denied the right to strike under antilabor Bill 34. There is a growing dissatisfaction among the CSA membership, especially its younger members, and many already favor affiliation with CUPE.



ROTEST ANTILABOR LEGISLATION. About 1,200 construction rkers marched in Edmonton, May 1.

The biggest threat to the strike is an injunction under antilabor Bill 35, which would empower the provincial government to declare the strike a disruption of "essential services." Similarly, an injunction was used a few months ago to smash a teachers strike in southern Alberta; injunctions were threatened against the Royal Alexandra hospital nurses; and have been repeatedly suggested by government officials since strike plans by Local 41 got underway.

With the threat of antilabor laws being used against the CUPE workers, it is essential that the entire Alberta labor movement come to Local 41's defense. The Alberta Federation of Labor should immediately plan demonstrations like the May 1 march of 1,200 construction workers against the Tory government's antilabor legislation, and in support of the rights of the hospital workers.

labor Challenge

Peron tries to stem crisis

PST enters Argentine election

by CAROLINE LUND.

AUG. 28 — The presidential elections scheduled for Sept. 23 in Argentina come at a time of sharpening political crisis. The Argentine rulers are desperately trying to reach a strategic agreement among themselves, with the backing of U.S. imperialism, to contain the explosive workers' struggles and continuing radicalization that have swept the country.

This working class upsurge was expressed in scores of factory occupations and hundreds of takeovers of high schools and other institutions after Peronist President Hector Campora took office last May.

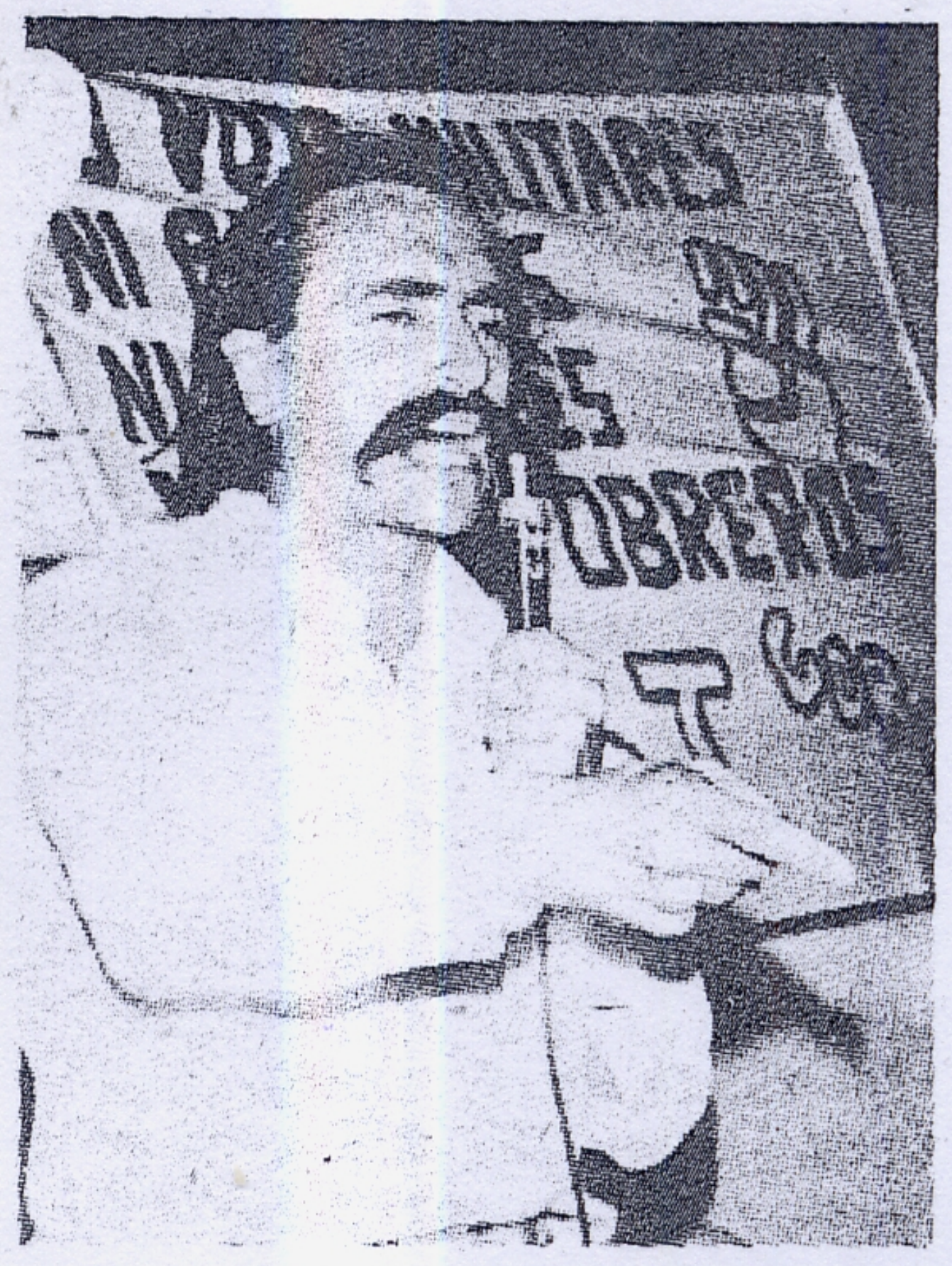
The return of Peron to Argentina, the July 13 resignation of Campora, and Peron's decision to run for president reflect the conclusion of the major sectors of the capitalist class that a Peronist regime would be the best hope for coopting or repressing the workers movement. Peron's concessions to rightist forces since his return, however, have already caused dissension among some of his left-wing followers.

The only working-class alternative in the elections will be the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party of Argentina (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores — PST). Four thousand people packed a meeting hall in Buenos Aires on Aug. 18 at the call of the PST and the Frente de los Trabajadores (Workers Front) to decide on a slate of working-class candidates to oppose Peron.

The only offices open in the special election are those of president and vice-president.

The meeting approved a slate of PST leader Juan Carlos Coral for president, and Jose Paez for vice-president. Paez, who recently joined the PST, was a leader of SITRAC-SITRAM, the rebel union of auto workers in Cordoba that has been in the forefront of the struggle against the military, the capitalists, and the Peronist trade union bureaucracy. He was one of the leaders of the semi-insurrections, called "Cordobazos," that occurred in that city in 1969 and 1971. Because of his role in these struggles, Paez was ousted from the union by the bureaucracy.

In addition to Peron, (whose running mate will be his wife, Isabel Martinez), there are now two other pro-capitalist tickets in the race: Balbin and De la Rua of the Radical Civic Union, Argentina's second-largest party after the Peronists; and the right-wing slate of Manrique and Raymonda. In the last elections, in March of this year. Manrique headed up an alliance of right-wing parties, centered around the Progressive Democratic Party.



JUAN CARLOS CORAL, PST leader, will oppose Peron in the Sept. 23 presidential election.

The importance of Peron's candidacy for preserving capitalist stability in Argentina has even been recognized by U.S. imperialism. Thus New York Times reporter David Binder wrote from Washington July 28: "In a reversal of attitudes, the United States Government has come to view Juan Domingo Peron not as a menace but as Argentina's best hope for political stability and economic progress."

Peron's usefulness to the capitalist class stems from the fact that masses of Argentine workers still believe he represents their interests and is anti-imperialist.

The PST is the only radical or working-class party that is challenging Peron and the other capitalist candidates in the election. At a special convention July 29, the PST decided to make its ballot status available to all those in the workers movement who support working-class political action in opposition to all the capitalist parties, including Peron's.

The PST followed the same course in the March elections, when Campora ran as a stand-in candidate for Peron. At the initiative of the PST, a Workers Front was formed, involving militant workers and trade-union leaders from throughout Argentina. Using the PST's ballot status, the Workers Front fielded 2,200 worker candidates as well as supporting the presidential and vice-presidential ticket of PST leaders Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Ciapponi. During these elections, Jose Paez ran on the PST ticket for governor of Cordoba.

The PST and Workers Front were the only working-class alternative to the "Great National Agreement" — the alliance formed between the capitalists, the Peronists, and the military as a maneuver to dampen the workers struggles. Workers Front candidates and supporters helped lead important strikes and factory occupations throughout the election period.

The new elections called for September give the PST and Workers Front another opportunity to confront the anti-working-class policies of Peron before the eyes of the masses of Argentines.

The Workers Front and the PST issued a call to all worker militants to participate in the Aug. 18 meeting on the basis of agreement with the following program:

- Against the parties and candidates of the Great National Agreement; against Peron, Balbin, Manrique, and all other capitalist candidates; for an independent, class-struggle political line, party, and slate.
- For legal rights for all parties in the elections.
- For democracy in the trade unions and for a congress of rank-and-file delegates of the CGT (the Peronist-controlled trade-union federation) to elect a new union leadership.
- For an emergency wage raise and a sliding scale of wages.
- Against the persecution of political activists; rehire those fired for political reasons or activity in the trade unions.
- Against imperialist exploitation and for nationalization and workers control of Codex, Standard Electric, and the rest of the monopolies.
- For the expropriation of the rich land owners and an agrarian reform, including the utilization of uncultivated lands by allowing people to work them.

A special invitation was issued to Agustin Tosco to join the Workers Front and run on its presidential ticket. Tosco is the best-known militant trade-union leader in the country. He was released from prison in September 1972, after serving a year and a half for allegedly subversive activities.

Tosco is president of the Cordoba Light and Power Union, which was attacked by goons from the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy in July. Armed followers of Tosco successfully defended the union headquarters against the Peronist attackers, who used machine guns and explosives.

Tosco, however, declined the offer from the PST and Workers Front to run on an independent slate, apparently under pressure from the Peronist ranks in the Cordoba labor movement. He has not yet made clear what his position on the elections will be.

The Communist Party has declared its support for Peron. In the first round of the elections last March, the CP supported an alliance of capitalist parties headed up by Oscar Alende and Horacio Sueldo — politicians who even supported the law making the Communist Party illegal.

In the second round, the CP supported the Radical Civic Union in Buenos Aires and the Peronist candidates in the rest of the country.

JOSE PAEZ, a leader of the Cordobazo uprising, is PST candidate for vice-president.

The rising workers movement and the growing radicalization of the various sectors of the population are posing new problems for the ruling class. The factory occupations, mass rebellions, the student unrest, and continuing inflation are all factors creating further divisions within the capitalist class. Neither Peron nor other sectors of the ruling class can hold back this process for any extended period of time.

— The Militant

Trial of Dr. Morgentaler begins

labor Challenge

OCTOBER 8, 1973
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Bloodbath continues

Act now to defend victims of Chile coup!

Chilean military junta unleashed massive terror against left and workers' movements after Sept. 11 coup. Thousands are l or imprisoned, dragged from their homes by armed forces, or killed in factories and universities while resisting coup.

IE EDITORS

Sept. 29, the Canadian government formally nized the military junta of Chile. External 's minister Sharp said the move "does not any particular attitude toward the govern- being recognized."

rp's justification is pure hypocrisy. Canada ed recognition of China for more than 20 years. does not recognize the German Democratic lic or the People's Republic of Korea. The real for Canada's speedy recognition of the ls' regime is to be found elsewhere in Sharp's ent where he said that the move was ary to handle "Canadian interests" in Chile. Canadian ambassador to Chile, Andrew Ross, Canadian objectives very clear. In a con- al cable to Ottawa which was printed in the 26 Toronto Star, Ross suggested that ition be carried through quickly. He went on to the coup as necessary to prevent civil war, oceeded to whitewash the military regime: my knowledge of views of senior military officers, unlike Brazilian or Peruvian models, they would intend to turn government back to civil authority with the minimum delay feasible." Ross considered the fact that the new government is entirely military "a hopeful sign that the armed forces are determined to avoid becoming identified with any political current . . . ."

NDP leader David Lewis told a Glace Bay, N.S. audience Sept. 29 that the government "should not have been in a hurry to recognize the military junta."

Feature coverage of Chile pages 6-8

Lewis said the junta had "murdered hundreds of people, perhaps thousands. They have arrested thousands more, and that is still going on."

By moving now to establish formal diplomatic relations with the generals, the Trudeau government is stating its approval of the military butchers — all in the name of "Canadian interests."

Whose interests is Sharp — himself a former vice-president of Brascan, the huge Canadian-based multinational corporation with major holdings in Brazil — out to protect? Not the interests of Canadian working people, who have no sympathy with or stake in the Chilean bloodbath. Certainly not the Chilean workers and peasants who are still facing the terror.

Rather, Sharp acts in the interests of Canadian and world imperialism, which has been working all along to undermine the Popular Unity government, seeking to establish a more "stable" regime.

Canada is clearly complicit in the international imperialist blockade of the Popular Unity government. (see article, page 7).

The Sept. 28 Le Devoir quotes three Canadian priests just returned from Chile. They report "systematic assassination" of leaders of the popular organizations. They also confirm the existence of a "death squad, like in Brazil. They were trained by the Brazilians."

see page 2

Editorial

Act now to save Chile victims lives

continued from page 1

Asked whether it is true that there have been only a few hundred deaths, as official publicity states, M. Latulippe, one of the priests, replied: "There have been many more than they would have us believe. Without exaggerating, I think that it would be more accurate to speak of thousands of deaths."

This latter point was confirmed by Newsweek magazine, whose correspondent, John Barnes, said he sneaked into the Santiago morgue and saw bodies of 270 young persons, most of whom had been shot at close range beneath the chin.

"I was able to obtain an official morgue body count from the daugher of a member of its staff," Barnes reported. "By the 14th day following the coup, the morgue had received and processed 2,796 corpses."

That is in the city of Santiago alone! How many other murders have taken place elsewhere? How many more victims lie in unmarked graves? How many more will there be before the generals feel secure in power?

Emergency action, on a worldwide scale, is required to stay the hand of the executioners in Chile. A massive protest movement is needed, and time is of the essence, to save the lives of those who languish in Chile's prisons, concentration camps and the national stadium.

Victims of the terror include even those who have never been involved in political activity. One of the Canadian priests reports an incident near his home, where police stopped a youth on the street and found a pocket knife on his person. "Immediately, the police officer drew his revolver and shot him down. His body was dragged to the truck and thrown in . . . ."

Other victims are political refugees, who fled to Chile from the repression of dictatorships in other Latin American countries. They face prison or death if they are returned to their homelands.

But particularly singled out for imprisonment, torture or death are those working people who have taken the lead in fighting against their oppression and exploitation, and for the socialist future.

Everything possible must be done to mobilize the largest possible forces to protest the atrocities being committed by the imperialist-backed military junta. Demonstrations, protest rallies, teach-ins, etc. must be immediately launched. There is no time to be lost!

End the repression in Chile!
Free the political prisoners!
End Canadian and U.S. aid to the Chilean junta!
Open the doors to refugees!
Open the government records to let the people know the truth about Canada's role in Chile!

labor Challenge

Editor: GEORGE ADDISON
Business Manager: GRANT HARGRAVE

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Vill Peronism lead to similar defeat?

labor Challenge

rgentine workers protest coup

abor Challenge respondent Phil Courneyeur joined Mirta Vidal of the erican socialist weekly The litant in Buenos Aires, as t of our efforts to publish thand accounts and analysis political developments in gentina and neighboring le.

this article, Courneyeur Vidal report on the ponse in Argentina to the t. 11 military coup in Chile. future issues, Courneyeur report on the recent entine election, and the paign of the Trotskyist rtido Socialista bajadores (PST — Socialist kers Party).

ports of the election show n winning the presidency about 62 percent of the s. Early reports show PST lidates Juan Carlos Coral resident and Jose Paez for president receiving nearly 00 votes.

Phil Courneyeur

In planning our budget for this year we did not anticipate sending a correspondent to South America. We frankly can't afford it. But we are confident that our supporters would come through with the necessary funds for this special project. Send a cheque today, to Labor Challenge, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont.

COURNEYEUR
TA VIDAL

AIRES — The overthrow ende government in Chile nass protests in Argentina of the Sept. 23 presidential

hours of the coup, of university students had assemblies and in the Buenos Aires to denounce and to express their with the Chilean people. hout the next week, more 0 students on high school versity campuses par- in protest rallies. The Socialista de Avanzada ocialist Youth Vanguard) central role, seconded by nmunist Party youth t, in initiating many of ions.

y after the coup, various es and groups in Buenos gether with the Peronist lled a rally in front of the (House of Congress). The w more than 12,000 workers ents to the square.

days later the Peronist aged its own rally. Twenty responded to its call to e Chilean junta's coup and rve the eighteenth an- y of the 1955 military coup t ousted Peron.

mbolism of the coincidence touched the nerves of of Argentines, who could but wonder what the coup will mean for this Will Peron be but an in- on the way to yet another d military dictatorship?

er action, called for Sept. 18 by a united front of left organizations and unions, drew more than 20,000 people to the Congreso. This rally, called on very short notice, was backed by the Communist Party; the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers Party); three factions of the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP — Revolutionary People's Army) — the Santucho group, the Red Faction, and the August 22 Faction; other leftist groups; and such unions as the Light and Power Workers, the Taxi Drivers, and the Actors and Musicians Society.

Speakers at the rally included the well-known trade-union leader Augustin Tosco; Dr. Oscar Alende, a leader of the Intransigent Party, an important bourgeois party; Manuel Gagero, representing the Anti-Imperialist Front; Mario Amaya, a deputy in Congress; a leader of the Communist Party; and others from professional and artistic circles.

ACID TEST

The events in Chile have been an acid test for every organization on the Argentine left.

The PST turned its electoral campaign into a tool for mobilizing the widespread sentiment against the military coup and in support of the Chilean workers.

The PST approached the mobilizations with two central tasks in mind: to extend the first actions into further united-front mass actions supported by the left as a whole; and to use the demonstrations to draw the key lessons of Chile to the attention of Argentine workers and students.

The PST's class-struggle approach came into conflict with that of the reformist Communist Party and the Peronist Youth. The Peronist Youth and the CP, fearful that the lessons of the coup might undercut their arguments for supporting Peron, tried to contain the demonstrations within a respectful and mournful approach and to channel the workers' and students' anger into support for Peron. Both spared no effort to keep working-class political demands out of the demonstrations and factory meetings.

The two conflicting approaches were obvious at the huge Congreso rally Sept. 18. The PST and the Workers Front brought some 2,000 workers to the demonstration. Another 2,000 students marched under the banner of the JSA. Despite the fact that the PST had one of the largest contingents, the organizing committee of the rally, dominated by the CP, excluded the PST and other smaller revolutionary organizations from speaking at the rally.

PST DRAWS LESSONS

The demonstrations did, however, get a chance to see the position of the PST. A leaflet distributed at the march and rally protested the exclusion and called on all the presidential candidates to demand, as the PST did, that the government break relations with the military regime in Chile. The leaflet also demanded:

"Denounce the repression in Chile in the United Nations and demand the immediate formation of a UN subcommittee composed of well-known figures and activists in the struggle for democratic rights and against imperialism, such as Jean-Paul Sartre.

photo from The Militant

JUAN CARLOS CORAL, PST presidential candidate addresses Chilean defense rally.

"Open up the frontiers to all refugees, Chilean or foreign, with a guarantee from the Argentine government for work and a decent wage while they remain in this country.

"Grant all refugees honorary Argentine citizenship."

The PST held two brief campaign rallies before joining the main demonstration. Speaking at the first rally, Jose Paez, PST vice-presidential candidate, said, "Peron says that the events in Chile were the fault of the 'hurried youth.' These were the young people who sought to bring about socialism and saw the anti-imperialist measures taken by Allende as a step toward it.

"So we ask ourselves, what anti-imperialist measures can we expect a Peronist government to take? None. All we can expect is a new alliance with imperialism."

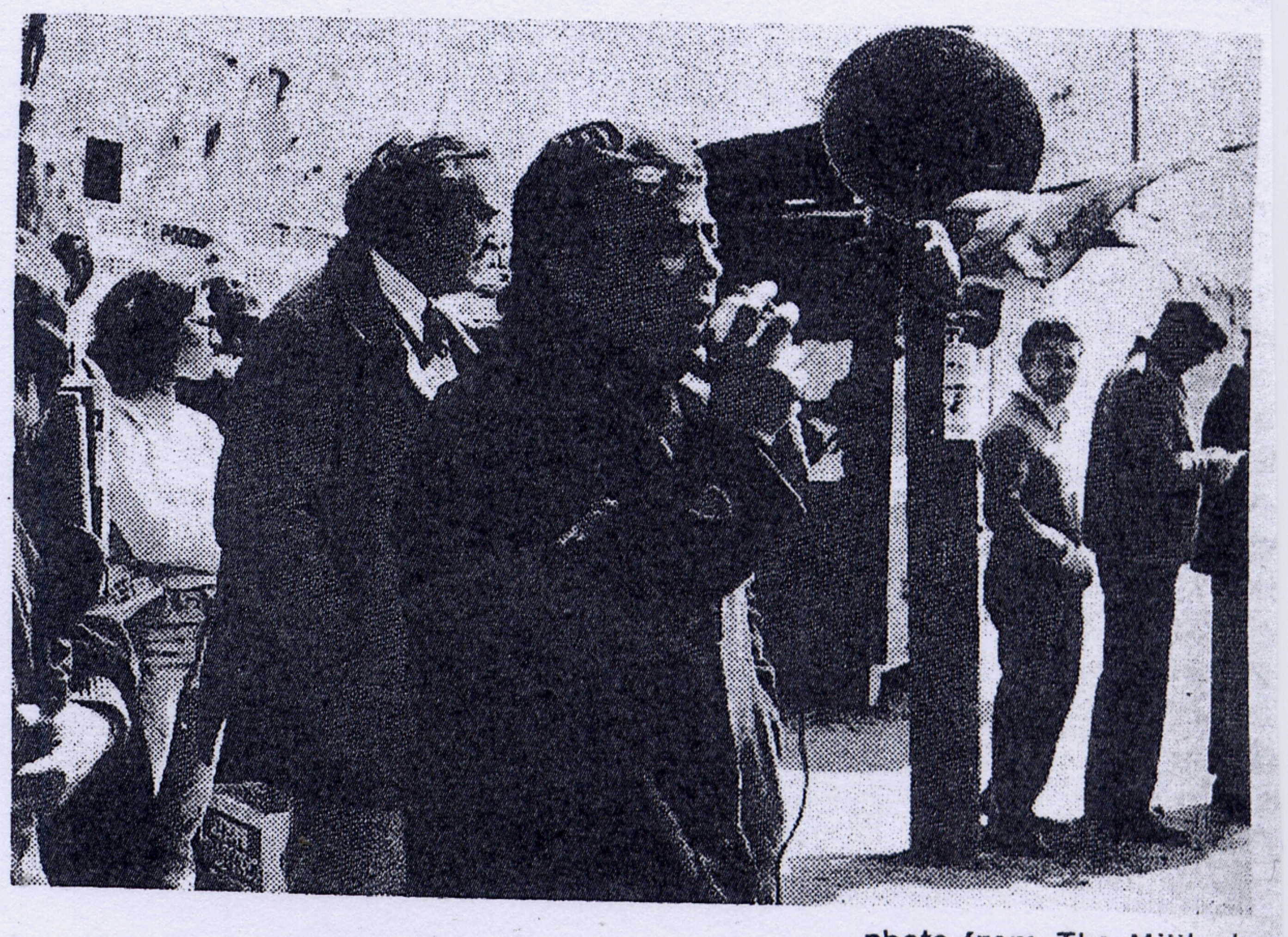

photo from The Militant

JOSE PAEZ: 'Chile shows us that socialism can only be fought for with a revolutionary party, not with reformism.'

One of the demands initially raised by the PST was that the Argentine government send arms to the Chilean workers organizing resistance against the military coup.

When Paez spoke of this demand. the crowd burst into a chant, as is customary here at political events: "Chile, armado, jamas sera aplastado" (Chile, armed, will never be crushed).

Juan Carlos Coral, PST presidential candidate, addressed the second rally. "There are companeros who think Peronism is a step toward socialism," he said. "But the tragic experience of Chile shows us that there are no intermediate steps. The defeat of the reformist regime in Chile proves that the only road to socialism is the armed mobilization of the masses."

ROLE OF WORKERS FRONT

Not only the PST and the JSA threw their energies into the Chile defense campaign. The Workers Front also became a vehicle for mobilizing support.

Formed at the initiative of the PST, the Workers Front is a broad formation rallying the politically advanced sectors of the workers movement. It is a vehicle for organizing the working class to struggle for political independence from the capitalist parties, against the trade-union bureaucracy, and based on international working-class solidarity.

The meetings of the Workers Front, originally called to organize support for the PST election campaigns, served to mobilize workers around the question of Chile.

One such meeting was held Sept. 15 in North Buenos Aires. Among the 400 in attendance were a number of representatives of important trade unions in that area.

Paez, who was one of the speakers at this meeting, said, "Chile shows us that socialism can only be fought for with a revolutionary party, not with reformism and 'socialist nationalist' governments."

The meeting then voted to call factory assemblies during the 15-minute work stoppage in solidarity with Chile called for the following Monday by the CGT, the large Peronist-controlled trade-union federation. The Workers Front meeting also voted to mobilize workers for the Sept. 18 demonstration.

In the nearby city of La Plata, the first action organized on a few hours' notice to protest the coup was led by the PST. That action got prominent coverage in a leading Buenos Aires daily.

The PST also turned over its radio and TV time, granted to all candidates, to speakers on Chile, who appealed for support and called on people to join the demonstrations scheduled in many cities.

Internationalism

The Argentine labor movement has strongly protested the Chilean coup. In Cordoba, the CGT staged a three-hour work stoppage Sept. 14. The following Monday, Sept. 17, Argentine workers held a nation-wide 15-minute work stoppage at the call of the CGT.

At the huge IME state-run heavy machinery factory in Buenos Aires, 3,000 workers stopped production to hold a solidarity rally. The factory committee voted to donate a day's wages from each worker to their Chilean brothers and sisters.

The University Non-Teaching Support Staff Workers (APUBA) in Buenos Aires held a protest assembly of 2,000, followed by a march to demand that the government not recognize the Chilean junta. At the Central Savings Bank in Buenos Aires, 2,000 workers staged a half-hour work stoppage Sept. 13.

Similar actions took place up and down the country in some of the most important concentrations of workers — such as the Sherin Laboratories, the Santa Rosa steel plant, the Yelmo steel plant, the Tensa steel plant, and the Editorial Abril publishing house.

The factory and workplace actions indicate the reemergence of internationalism in the political life of the Argentine working class. International class solidarity, once a powerful factor in the labor movement here, waned during the rise and eventual domination of Peronism in the labor movement.

Not since the Spanish Civil War — not even in response to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, the invasion of Santo Domingo in 1965, or the 1971 Bolivian coup — have such widespread protests occurred among Argentine workers on events in another country.

—P.C. & M.V.

hat Went Wrong?

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labor Challenge

The Revolutionary Marxist Group

ART YOUNG

From Oct. 5 to Oct. 8, the volutionary Marxist Group held founding convention in Toronto,'' ports the November issue of the IG's paper, the Old Mole.

But what is the RMG? Where does come from?

The authors of the article put it s way: ''The RMG is a Trotskyist ganization in active political idarity with the Fourth International. It includes groups and lividual militants formerly ociated with a variety of forions: New Left and radical dent currents, the Waffle, the v Democratic Youth, and the gue for Socialist Action/ Young ialists.''

ut this is incomplete. It would e been more accurate for the Old e to have said: the RMG, while it udes individuals of different grounds, has assembled the of its forces through a raid on League for Socialist on/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere adian section of the Fourth rnational), and its fraternal h organization, the Young alists/ Ligue des Jeunes alistes. The RMG held its ding convention only after it had en everyone it could away from organizations. A split from the LSO is a grave blow to utionary unity and a split from ourth International.

t year, two groups approached eague claiming to accept the am and traditions of the h International. They also said would obey the League's line.

LSA/ LSO warmly greeted itiative of the ''Red Circle'' Old Mole'', the predecessors of MG. The League expressed its that unity prove realizable.

explore this possibility, the e entered into political sions with them in order to what their political views From the beginning, it also d on the importance of ping collaboration wherever e, and it made a number of tions as to how this could be

But the evolution of these two groups was not towards the League, but in an opposite direction The discussions revealed that they disagreed with the LSA/ LSO on a whole series of vital questions. These included: how to defend the Vietnamese revolution; how revolutionaries should work in the NDP; how to intervene in elections; the program for national liberation in Quebec; how women can liberate themselves; and the meaning of student struggles and socialists' role in them. In short, the disagreements covered virtually every major question confronting revolutionaries in Canada.

But even more telling was the test of practice. The LSA/ LSO had proposed a number of fields in which it believed the groups should make a serious attempt to collaborate. The Red Circle and Old Mole made no such proposals. They turned down certain of the League's suggestions. In other fields they actively organized against the League's policies along sectarian ultraleft lines. This led them into several sharp public confrontations with the LSA/ LSO over its attempts to build the broadest possible defense of the Vietnamese struggle at a time when it was under maximum pressure from American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucrats to accept an imposed peace treaty. A similar clash occurred when they attempted to impose their own narrow analysis on the Left Caucus, a grouping in the Ontario NDP founded to organize party members against the reformist NDP leadership.

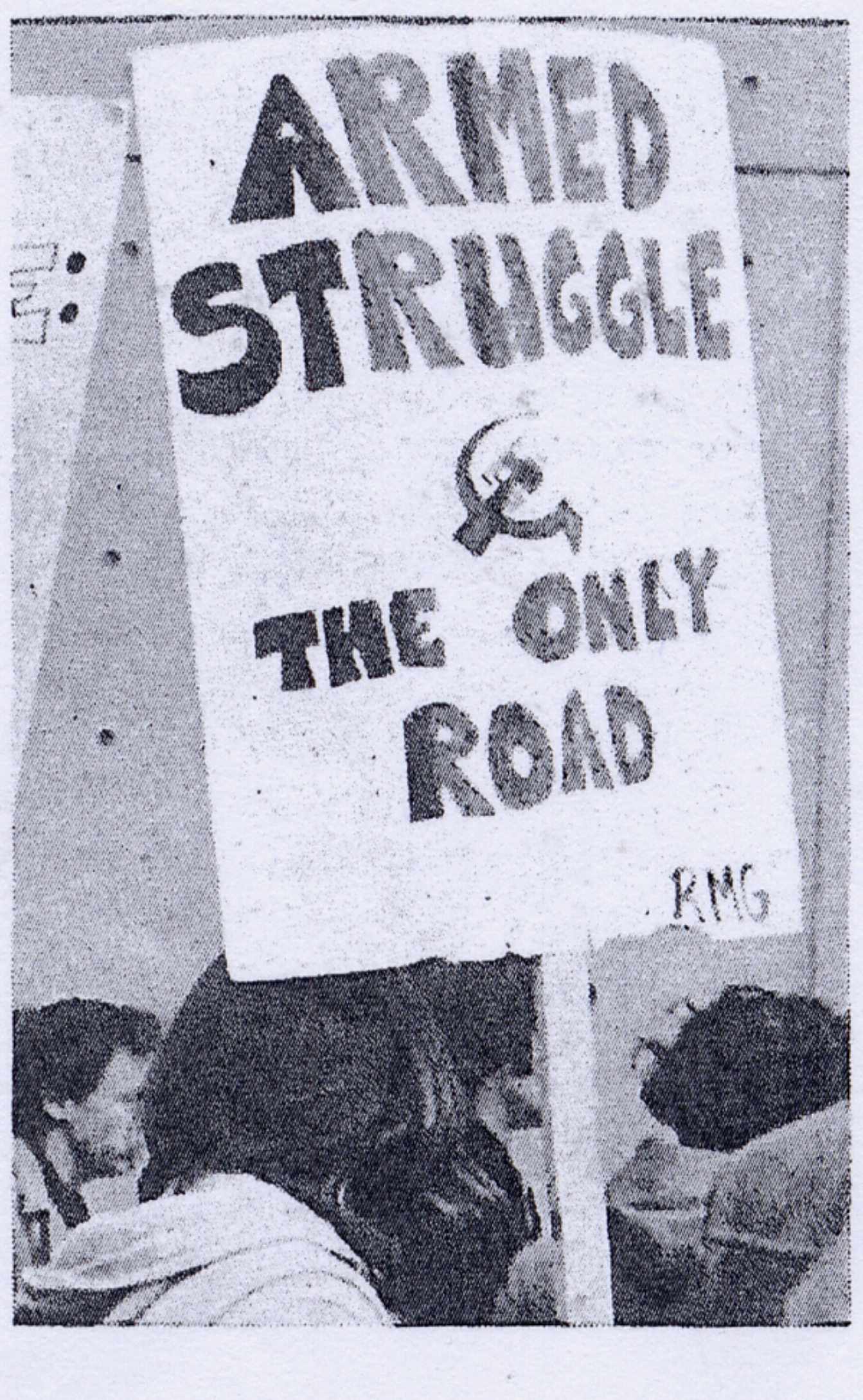
By early this year, it was clear that all common work had broken down. Instead, different political lines were sharply counterposed in action in every major field of activity.

If there was not a single field of work in which the section and the prodecessors of the RMG could collaborate, how could they work together inside the League, a democratic-centralist organization active in all areas? Unification was obviously premature; what was necessary was increased efforts to find ways to work together in order to lay the basis for unity.

This was far from the attitude of the Red Circle and Old Mole. They insisted that they be immediately admitted into the League.

The reason for this seemingly illogical stand soon became clear.

The convention of the LSA/ LSO took place in April after 11 months of discussion in the entire organization. The positions of the movement were reaffirmed by a large majority. The authoritative and fully democratic character of the convention was accepted by all, including the ''Revolutionary Communist'' minority tendency inside the League. The RCT, whose positions were in basic agreement with those of the Red Circle/ Old Mole, had been unable to win more than 15 percent of the membership to its views.



But the RCT could not tolerate being a minority. A few weeks after the convention, the RCT and its youth supporters began splitting from the LSA/ LSO and the YS/ LJS.

The Red Circle and Old Mole welcomed the splitters; and the three formations quickly fused to form the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The RMG also sought to justify the split.

The splitting operation has now come to an end, as the remaining members of the RCT left the section on the eve of the RMG's founding convention. Many of the splitters were suitably rewarded with posts on the RMG central committee.

These events reveal that what was involved was not a genuine attempt to unite with the Canadian section of the Fourth International, but a maneuver to build another organization by breaking members away from the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

''The RMG's sister organization in Quebec,'' to quote the Old Mole, is the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist Group). Like the RMG, the GMR was produced by a split from the LSA/ LSO and the YS/ LJS.

But the RMG aspires to internationalism. So it has not been slow to extend its split program beyond the Canadian borders.

In the July-August issue of the Old Mole, Wally Seccombe writes of the ''absence of a viable revolutionary party nucleus'' in the United States. He draws the conclusion that the building of such a nucleus is the ''clear historical task for revolutionary Marxists'' in the U.S.

Yet Seccombe, a leader of the RMG, is aware of the American Socialist Workers Party, one of the largest and most important Trotskyist organizations in the world. The SWP embodies the traditions and continuity of Trotskyism and, while reactionary legislation bars it from formal membership in the Fourth International, it is in active political solidarity with it.

But this is obviously not the view of the RMG, which considers that the SWP does not constitute even a revolutionary nucleus in the United States today. Clearly revolutionaries should therefore not seek to join the SWP, and others should leave it to build some new organization.

The split proposal for the United States is nothing more than an extension of the GMR's course in Quebec and the RMG's in English-Canada.

The RMG's ''active political solidarity with te Fourth International'' is certainly novel! It encompasses the splitting and destruction of the component organizations of the Fourth International! The RMG no doubt aspires to build some international organization more to its liking.

In this approach the RMG is not alone. There is no lack of groups in the world who claim to be Trotskyist but refuse, for one sectarian reason or another, to unite with the overwhelming majority of Trotskyists organized under the banner of the Fourth International. They have each set out to ''reconstruct,'' ''rebuild,'' or to set up a ''new'' Fourth International. But none of them have had any measure of success.

Contrary to the image it cultivates, the RMG does not represent the addition of substantial new forces to the ranks of Trotskyism. The biggest single component of the group is made up of those who have split from the Canadian Trotskyist movement, the LSA/ LSO and the YS/ LJS. They have combined with others no less hostile to the League: some who broke with the section years earlier, and others who acquired their hostility in the same period, in this case when they were leading representatives of ''new left'' currents fighting Trotskyism.

Among the RMG's members and organized periphery there are also some who are genuinely looking for the road to Trotskyism. But for the moment they have confused the RMG counterfeit with the real thing.

The program of the ''Revolutionary Marxist'' Group is not that of revolutionary Marxism, as developed by Lenin and Trotsky. Coming issues of Labor Challenge will explain where the RMG goes wrong on the most important questions of Canadian and world politics.

labor Challenge

Revolutionary Marxist Group

RMG goes wrong on Chile, Vietnam

by JON COLE

The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), which held its founding convention in Toronto Oct. 5-8, has declared itself to be a Trotskyist organization, supporting the Fourth International. Certainly revolutionary socialists can only welcome the decision of a group of left activists to declare their solidarity with the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

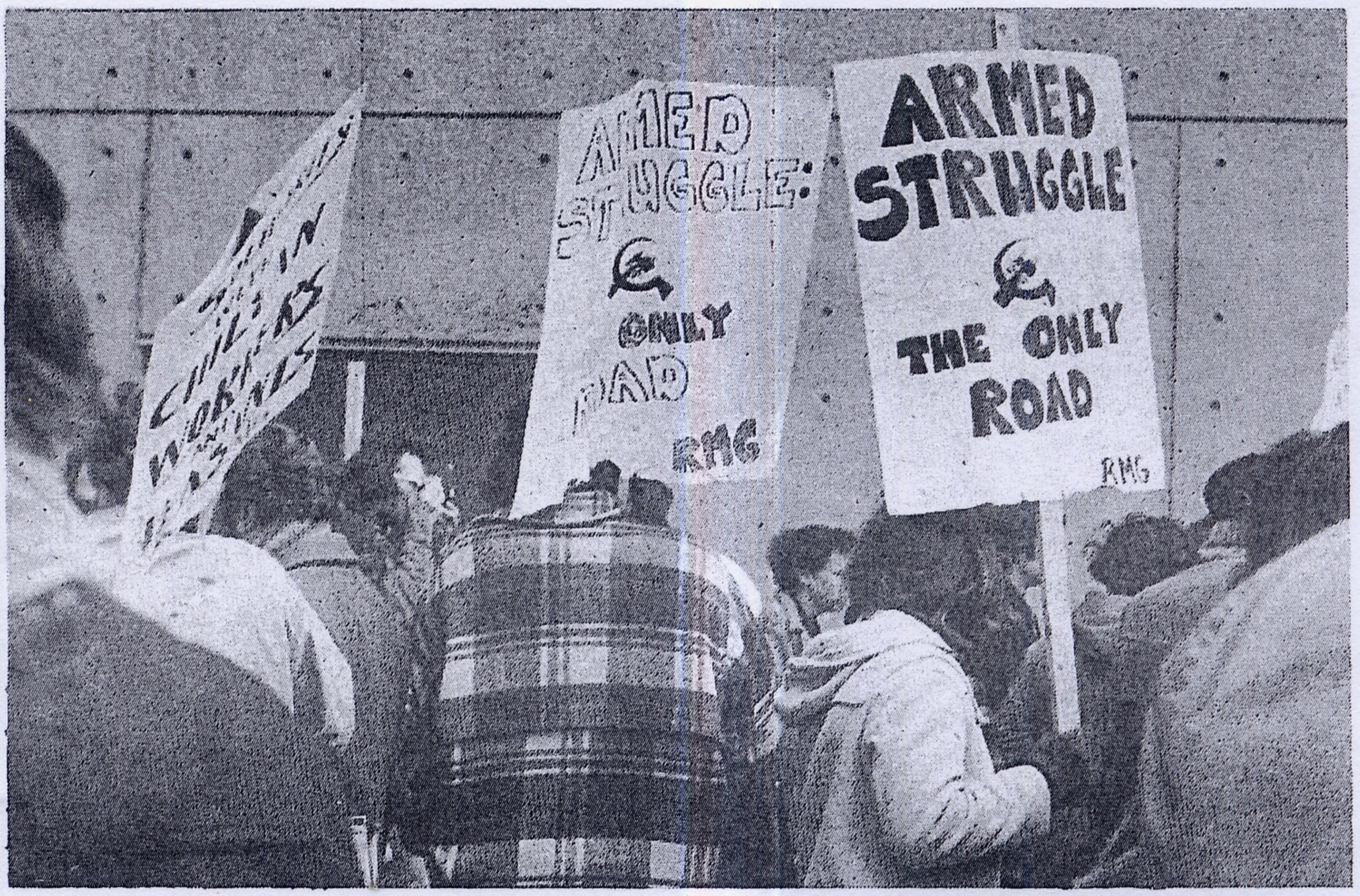

ARMED STRUGGLE: ONLY ROAD RMG
ARMED STRUGGLE THE ONLY ROAD RMG

photo by Grant Hargrave

RMG LIMITS ITSELF to the presentation of revolutionary-sounding slogans to small numbers of radicals.

And it is important to examine the RMG's political views, to see what contribution it can make to the building of a mass revolutionary party in Canada.

The RMG is the product of a fusion between two groups. One is a minority faction which was formerly part of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. Rather than attempt to democratically win the LSA/ LSO to its views, this faction preferred to carry out an unprincipled split. The second group was organized around the newspaper Old Mole. The political line of the RMG has been developed, for more than a year before the October convention, in the pages of Old Mole. To understand the RMG, therefore, it is necessary to study the newspaper which now calls itself the "paper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group."

NEW LEFT ORIGINS

The forces which gathered around the Old Mole after its first issue in September 1972 came, generally speaking, out of the collapse of the New Left as an organized force on Canadian campuses. In fact, except for the splitters from the LSA/ LSO, almost every prominent member of the RMG was once part of the Student Council/ Canadian Union of Students/ New Left milieu which purported to lead the student radicalization during the last 1960s.

Today, the leaders of the RMG call themselves Trotskyists. This means that they have to some degree recognized the inadequacies of the "new left." In this framework, it would be an error to hold their background against them. Unfortunately, however, the RMG leaders still retain many of their former views and methods. An examination of Old Mole shows that they have merely covered them over with revolutionary-sounding rhetoric.

Like the new left, the editors of Old Mole appear to be partisans of the pseudo-intellectual prejudice that the less comprehensible a statement is, the more profound it must be. Thus, in the first issue, readers had to cope with this sort of thing:

"In its theoretical practice, Old Mole seeks to articulate the conceptual preconditions for understanding the conjunture (sic) and the political tasks it demands."

But it is Old Mole's political content, above all the program it puts forward, which best shows Old Mole's line of descent.

CHEERLEADERS

The new left academics were keenly interested in revolutionary struggles in other countries. But they limited their support to those struggles to a kind of radical cheerleading — they applauded revolutions from a distance. They failed to see that they could make significant contributions to those struggles.

This was most evident in relation to the war in Vietnam.

The international antiwar movement for years played a crucial role in staying the hand of U.S. imperialism. The Vietnamese received immense aid from the fact that there existed massive political opposition to the war "behind the lines" in the imperialist countries.

Revolutionary socialists played a major role in building that political opposition. The LSA/ LSO and the Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes were among the principal organizers of virtually every major antiwar action in Canada. The demands "U.S. Out Now" and "End Canada's Complicity," which became the principal demands of the antiwar movement, were advanced and explained by the LSA/ LSO and the YS/ LJS long before more than a few hundred Canadians knew anything about Vietnam. The Fourth International saw the need and possibility for a mass international antiwar movement — and set out to build it in many countries around the world.

But for many self-styled revolutionaries, this approach was too arduous — and not romantic enough. They wanted to prove their revolutionary beliefs — especially to others like themselves. Bearing banners reading "Victory to the NLF," they would organize "anti-imperialist contingents" on the mass demonstrations organized by others. They were, in effect, cheerleaders for the Vietnamese, not builders of the international movement against U.S. imperialism.

The first issue of Old Mole defended this thoroughly dilletantish approach:

"In Canada it is very difficult to bring large numbers of people into the street against the war. This is true despite general antiwar sentiment, because of the indirect effect of the war on the daily lives of Canadians. In this country the mobilization is better directed at the politicized elements, the vanguard. This means also that while continuing to call for an end to Canada's complicity, primary importance should be given to such slogans as 'Victory to the NLF' and 'PRG on to Saigon.' This strategy will develop the international solidarity and clarify the political understanding of the advanced workers and students."

Rather than work to convert the "general antiwar sentiment" into a mass movement against U.S. imperialism and its supporters in Ottawa, Old Mole urged its readers to orient to the "vanguard," the already-convinced. And rather than teach these people how to draw the masses of Canadians into the antiwar struggle, Old Mole advocated raising slogans which only the "vanguard" could understand.

Old Mole supporters tried to put this "strategy" into practice, bringing red flags and "Victory to the NLF" banners to a few demonstrations. It may have salved their revolutionary consciences to do so — but it did nothing at all to aid the Vietnamese.

THE CASE OF CHILE

The Sept. 11, 1973 coup in Chile imposed on all defenders of democratic rights the responsibility to organize an international campaign against the junta's savage repression. In Canada, where the government has in the past admitted political refugees in large numbers (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Uganda), a campaign to force the government to admit refugees from Chile was launched on a broad scale.

No international issue since Vietnam has aroused such broad opposition in Canada as the Chilean coup. Hundreds of thousands who have not been otherwise politically involved responded with horror and revulsion to the coup and its bloody aftermath. The campaign for Chilean political refugees quickly won wide support, forcing the Liberal government to make some concessions.

But the RMG chose, as they did toward Vietnam, to try to limit the defense movement to people who saw themselves as revolutionaries. Their approach was spelled out in the November 1973 Old Mole:

End Canada's Complicity!
JOIN the YOUNG SOCIALISTS!
U.S. OUT NOW!
CANADA — HANDS OFF VIETNAM
U.S. OUT NOW
Vietnam WILL WIN

NOT ONLY PROPAGANDA, but initiatives wherever possible to bring masses of people into struggle for key demands, is LSA/LSO's strategy. Such action initiatives have a material effect on class struggle and on consciousness of thousands of workers. Above, Toronto antiwar demonstration earlier this year. LSA/LSO played crucial role in building mass antiwar movement.

"The Revolutionary Marxist Group will . . . (work) for the emergence of unified committees based on a clear position of support to the Chilean workers' movement and the armed struggle it faces."

The three slogans advanced by Old Mole for the Chile campaign are indicative of the RMG's thoroughly sectarian approach.

"Oppose Imperialist Intervention." This isn't a slogan that demands anything from the Canadian or U.S. governments — it is aimed at the left. It speaks only to the already-convinced.

"Defend the Chilean Workers' Movement." Once again, a demand aimed not at the government, but at the left.

"Armed struggle — the Only Road." This isn't a demand at all — unless it is supposed to be aimed at the Chilean masses. As a slogan for actions in Canada, it is meaningless.

Elsewhere the RMG raised the demand "Oust the Generals, Workers to Power," which is also aimed not at Canadians but at the Chilean people, the only ones who can carry it out.

Labor Challenge, by contrast, advocated a campaign "to mobilize the largest possible forces to protest the atrocities being committed by the imperialist-backed junta," and put forward the following slogans: "End the repression in Chile!" "Free the political prisoners!" "End Canadian and U.S. aid to the junta!" "Open the doors to refugees!" "Open the government's records to let the people know the truth about Canada's role in Chile!" (Labor Challenge, Oct. 8, 1973)

Each of these slogans poses a concrete demand, aimed at the junta and its North American backers. Each expresses questions of real concern to the Chilean and Canadian people. The relevance of these demands has become increasingly clear as events in Chile and Canada have developed. The Old Mole's slogans, on the other hand, remain abstract expressions of revolutionary sentiment — not demands for a serious campaign to aid victims of the coup in Chile.

VERBAL RADICALISM

Old Mole supporters like to describe their approach to Vietnam, Chile, and the other international struggles as an "explicit solidarity position." In fact it involves nothing more than verbal solidarity. As Old Mole said in its first issue, it is "difficult" to mobilize large numbers of people. So they content themselves with activities and slogans which only the select few can understand.

True, it is not always possible to bring large numbers of people into struggle. But that does not free revolutionists from the responsibility to try to convince and mobilize the largest numbers possible at any given time.

If only a limited number of people respond, then revolutionists must show these people how they can reach out beyond their own limited circles and speak to millions, even when circumstances limit the number of active participants. No major victories will be won, and capitalism wil never be overthrown, if masses of people do not consciously join the struggle.

The RMG's approach not only cuts it off from any chance of ever influencing millions of people — it also miseducates the "vanguard" they are trying to reach.

As Lenin put it in 'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder, "The whole task of Communists is to be able to convince the backward elements, to work among, them, and not to fence themselves off from them by artificial and childishly 'Left' slogans."

(Continued next issue)

3,500 at Argentine Trotskyist congress

The following article is abridged from the American socialist weekly The Militant.

by NORMAN OLIVER

BUENOS AIRES — The largest gathering of Trotskyists ever held in Latin America took place here Dec. 15-16.

The event was the special congress of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina, which was attended by 3,500 people.

The 371 delegates to the convention were elected from PST branches in every major city in Argentina on the basis of one delegate for every 10 full members of the organization.

The convention was noteworthy for the impressive number of worker-militants, women, and youth who participated. A 61-year-old member of the PST's executive committee said, "I've seen more than 100 trade union and political congresses and they've been mostly older men. Here it is youth and women who predominate."

GROWTH OF PST

The opening address to the congress was given by Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate of the PST in both the March and September elections last year.

Coral said that congresses of many groups in the past had pretensions that they had launched a revolutionary party. All turned out to be failures. So when the PST was launched a year and a half ago, its claims were modest, though its aims were great.

"However," Coral went on," our work in the last 18 months, culminating in this congress, shows that we were not the victims of a romantic myth, but have made much progress in building the revolutionary party of the Argentine working class."

Coral continued: "Our candidates and comrades went to all the factories to tell the truth to the workers. We told them that Peron is an agent of the bosses, whose mission is to sidetrack them from the road of struggle for their demands.

"We refused to meet with Peron. Unlike other tendencies on the left, we don't talk behind closed doors with the enemies of the working class. We went alone against the stream. Our sole point of reference was the needs of the class struggle. That is the only road for revolutionaries to take." Here Coral was interrupted by several minutes of applause and chants.

As a result of its election campaigns and participation in the workers' struggles, the PST has grown significantly. It now has 60 headquarters. Despite the landslide support for Peron in the September elections, the PST received 190,000 votes, more than double its vote in the March elections.

LESSON OF CHILE

In his address Coral also spoke of the recent coup in Chile. He said the tragic defeat of the Chilean workers was the latest catastrophe of reformist policy.

The Communist party in Chile, he said, "told the workers socialism could be achieved along the peaceful, parliamentary road. This was like the fairy tale parents tell children about the stork bringing babies. The workers did resist and fight back, but their struggles were leaderless and disorganized. The indispensable element for victory was lacking — the presence of a revolutionary party implanted in the masses."

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from Avanzada Socialista

ARGENTINE TROTSKYIST CONVENTION. An impressive number of worker-militants, women and youth from across Argentina participated in PST convention.

In its fall election campaign the PST gave priority to building a solidarity campaign for the Chilean workers and peasants. It helped organize a number of significant demonstrations against the coup.

The PST was the only party in Argentina to denounce Peron as an accomplice of the Chilean butchers for closing the doors of Argentina to refugees. Of those who did manage to get into the country, Peron exiled the Chileans to a remote area in northern Argentina and deported refugees from other countries.

Coral ended by saying that the new political situation in Argentina provides an "opportunity to train and prepare our cadres for the next large-scale upsurge of the working class, which the PST must get into a position to lead."

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The central theme of the rest of the congress was, like Coral's speech, internationalism.

The main questions taken up were the issues facing the upcoming world congress of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. The reports and discussions showed that the PST delegates were well-informed about the issues under debate. There were reports and discussions on the current world political situation, the strategy for building revolutionary parties in Europe, and a balance sheet of the developments in Bolivia and Argentina since 1969.

All the reports were adopted unanimously, with no abstentions. The congress voted to send a full delegation to the world congress of the Fourth International to put forward the PST's views on the questions on the agenda.

The reporter on the present situation in Argentina and the tasks of the PST stated that the prerevolutionary situation inaugurated by the Cordobazo (a mass uprising in Cordoba) in 1969 ended with the consolidation of the Peronist regime after the second election last year.

The relationship between the capitalist government and the working masses has changed. During the military dictatorships of Ongania and Lanusse the bourgeoisie was divided and its regime was opposed by 90 percent of the population.

Today the capitalist class is united in support of Peron. At this time, the overwhelming majority of the working class has been deluded into support of Peron. The middle class as well looks to Peron for a solution to its problems.

The new stage in Argentina is characterized by the PST as one of a precarious relative stabilization for the bourgeois regime. However, Peron's coming to power has also set into motion a dynamic that will undermine this stabilization.

The expectations of the Argentine working class and other exploited and oppressed layers have risen tremendously. They expect the new government to reduce and eliminate the social evils that plagued them under Ongania and Lanusse. The Peronist regime is incapable of doing this because it is a capitalist government. It is based on the power and interests of the capitalist class, which contradict the needs of the great masses of the Argentine people.

Some of the most important struggles today are undertaken by the students. In the high schools, where Peronist domination is weaker, these struggles have often been led by the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA — Socialist Youth Vanguard).

The PST and JSA's proletarian internationalism and uncompromising opposition to class-collaborationism make them a strong pole of attraction for revolutionary-minded youth. The JSA, a sympathizing youth organization of the Fourth International, is rapidly becoming the largest Marxist youth group in Argentina.

The PST and the JSA form the only tendency on the left that has understood and taken advantage of these contradictions of the Peronist policy. Their aim is to promote and lead a break of the working class away from Peronism and toward independent working class struggle, both in the factories and in the political arena.

ERRONEOUS POSITIONS

In a closing speech to the congress, Nahuel Moreno, general secretary of the PST, contrasted the PST's analysis of Peronism to the erroneous positions taken by other tendencies on the left.

He recalled how the PST had been severely criticized by the rest of the left for taking advantage of the opportunity to operate legally — something that all groups now do, including the ultralefts and even guerrilla organizations.

During the March elections the ultralefts raised the slogan "Neither coup nor election — revolution!" However, elections were held and no amount of shouting otherwise by the ultraleft and guerrilla groups could alter that fact.

The PST participated in the two national elections to provide an independent working-class political choice to the Argentine people.

Moreno explained how the Communist Party had earlier termed Peron a fascist and later, when they saw Peron was going to win, switched to support for Peron and his capitalist government. The CP, in its search for a "revolutionary" general representing the "progressive bourgeoisie," has now found him in Peron.

In the second elections not only the CP but some of the ultraleft organizations changed their tune and wound up giving either open or backhanded support to Peron.

The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores — Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (PRT-ERP — Revolutionary Workers Party - Revolutionary Army of the People), a leading guerrillaist group, has succumbed to the pressure of left Peronism by joining and playing a leading role in the Frente Anti-Imperialista para el Socialismo (FAS — Anti-Imperialist Front for Socialism).

The FAS is a left-nationalist and populist formation with a class-colaborationist perspective. It is moving toward unity with a popular-front formation backed by the CP.

Moreno observed that the prospects for future growth of the PST were good if it continued to link itself with the workers in the fight against Peronist policies and the trade-union bureaucracy. The presence of hundreds of worker-militants at the congress attested to the PST's success is doing this.

Free Vitale from Chilean jail!

Further information has recently become available on the situation of Chilean political prisoner Luis Vitale, a prominent Marxist historian and a former leader of the United Federation of Workers (CUT) the Chilean trade union federation.

A letter received from Santiago by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) on Dec. 10 states:

"Luis Vitale was taken prisoner on the 12th of September and held in the Estadio Chile. He survived that experience and was then transferred to the Estadio Nacional, where he remained for the next two months and was beaten, interrogated, inadequately fed (he has kidney problems from the past) and threatened, all without breaking his body or spirit."

The letter continues: "Two weeks ago he was transeferred back to the Estadio Chile with a group of some 300 prisoners who were awaiting trial, while the great majority of those still in the Estadio Nacional were taken north to the deserted nitrate mine of Chacabuco to be held in that detention camp in the desert near Antafagasta.

"Vitale was seen about three weeks ago, when he was OK, but very thin and undernourished. He had burned up all his fat and was burning protein. As a result he had a serious skin infection on his face, and was not getting adequate medical treatment for it, the doctors involved said the military refused to give them the medicines they needed for his treatment and others.

"In the Estadio Chile, executions are still going on. In the case of Vitale, it is understood that he is to be submitted to a long trial procedure. Steps have been taken to interest the Argentine embassy in his case, as he was born in Argentina, and it is understood that they are asking for his expulsion to Argentina in lieu of other punishment.

"Nothing is sure, however, and it would be important for many reasons if an international campaign around the case of this Argentine-born intellectual — a clear case of persecution for his ideas, (versus the Chilean government claims of what they are doing) — could be undertaken."

Both USLA and the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (CCLA) have called for the immediate release of Vitale and all other political prisoners. Protest telegrams and letters should be sent to General Augusto Pinochet, c/o Chilean Embassy, 56 Sparks St., Ottawa, with copies to CCLA, P.O. Box 38, Stn. B, Toronto.

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Price hike sparks explosion

Bolivia: peasants join rebellion

TROOPS CONFRONT PEASANTS in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

On Jan. 21 the Bolivian government announced increases in the price of staple foods of more than 100 percent. The wave of rebellion which the price increases touched off quickly spread among the workers and the urban poor, penetrating even the long-conservatized peasantry, and threatening to overwhelm the shaky military dictatorship.

Gerry Foley describes the events in the Feb. 11 **Intercontinental Press.**

The price increases, Foley writes, "came as a particularly cruel blow to one of the poorest countries in the world, where most of the population lives at the level of bare subsistence. Pictures taken in the poor neighborhoods of La Paz on the day of the announcement, reported the Buenos Aires daily **La Opinion** in its Jan. 23 issue, 'showed scenes of grief, weeping, dismay, and condemnation.' "

"Although it launched a crackdown on the unions after overthrowing the labor-supported Torres government in August 1971," Foley writes, "the rightist regime failed to break the economic organizations or combativity of the workers."

Reaction to the monstrous Jan. 21 price-hikes from the workers and poor was quick and powerful. After the announcement, stores were closed, and spontaneous protest demonstrations erupted. During the night groups of demonstrators, many of them women, threw up barricades in a main street of a poor section in La Paz, but were dispersed by police.

At almost the same time, 15,000 factory workers began a thirty-six hour strike in protest against the price increases. A rally of factory workers was broken up by police in a tear-gas attack. The miners declared a 24-hour strike to begin on Jan. 23.

The protests spread rapidly. "A gigantic wave of protests welled up yesterday against the civilian-military government, which the Bolivian people blame for the marked rise in the cost of living," reported the Jan. 24 **La Opinion**. "A considerable part of the economic life of the country was paralyzed by the strikes of the miners, factory workers and clerks."

Flour workers and builders, as well as the La Paz and Cochabamba peasant federations went on an "emergency footing."

"When the peasants, the main prop of the conservative counterrevolution in Bolivia, began to join in the protests," Foley says, "the (General Hugo) Banzer government apparently became convinced that it faced the threat of a mass uprising throughout the country. It appeared to call on its remaining supporters in the bureaucratized peasant organizations to go on a civil-war footing."

On Jan. 28, Banzer declared a stage of siege, claiming his government was threatened by "an international subversive plot." The same day, it was reported in **Le Monde**, thousands of peasants were continuing to block roads in the Cochabamba region. "According to certain reports, the peasants demanded the formation of a new government," said the Paris daily.

The day after Banzer's declaration of a state of siege the armed forces attacked the peasants holding the roads in Cochabamba. Banzer's ministry of information reported seven peasants wounded, and 16 killed.

But despite the military offensive, the peasant resistance did not seem broken. According to the Feb. 1 issue of the Buenos Aires daily **Clarin**, "reports from the rural areas claim that the groups dispersed yesterday by armed force have regrouped and that new barriers have been erected, especially in the eastern department of Santa Cruz."

The peasant revolt, Foley remarks, "seemed to mark the culmination of a long process in Bolivia and perhaps a major change in the relationship of social forces in the country."

Since the abolition of the latifundist system in 1953, and distribution of small plots of land to the potentially-revolutionary Indian masses, the authorities have consistently attempted to cultivate a conservative mentality among the poor peasants. Rightist governments, more and more, have used peasant mobilizations to break the strikes of combative mine workers.

"But in this latest upsurge," Foley says, "it has been precisely the small landholders in the Cochabamba Valley that have spearheaded the revolt against the government . . . In any case, in combination with the workers revolt that seems still to be spreading, the peasant actions gravely undermine the Banzer regime."

labor Challenge

Argentina: Peron's repression against left

In the late-night hours of Jan. 19 the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP — People's Revolutionary Army) raided the Azul base of the 10th Armored Cavalry Regiment, one of the strongest military units in Argentina. The guerrillas temporarily occupied the house of the regiment's commander, Colonel Arturo Gay.

In the ensuing fighting, according to the Argentine press, the Colonel, his wife, and a guard were killed. Two of the guerrillas, according to one report were mortally wounded. Eighteen were arrested.

Besides the unusually large number of guerrillas reportedly involved, the raid was notable for use of heavy weapons such as bazookas. The Jan. 24 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly **Panorama** offered an explanation of the ERP's motives in launching such a large-scale attack. Gerry Foley, writing in the Feb. 4 **Intercontinental Press** quotes from the article.

In the ERP Communique claiming responsibility for the action, said **Panorama's** editors, "the illegal organization presented itself as a belligerent force, in open and declared struggle against an enemy army . . . They were trying to inflict a clear defeat on the military forces of an enemy state and to have this victory clearly established . . . What the guerrillas sought was recognition of a faction as a belligerent in civil war."

A windfall for Peron

"The ERP raid did have a major political impact," Foley comments, "but it did not seem likely to win its organizers recognized status as " 'belligerents in a civil war.' Peron seized on the dramatic actions as a pretext for escalating the witchhunt that he had launched against the left inside and outside the Peronist movement shortly after his return from exile in June. From his point of view, the raid seemed to come at an opportune time."

From the time of Peron's return, when at his welcoming rally at the Ezeiza airport right-wing Peronist goons opened fire on the left Peronist contingents, the General has steadily increased the repression.

Only a few days after his formal ascension to the presidency in September, Peron used the assassination of right-wing Peronist trade-union bureaucrat Jose Rucci as a pretext for launching a "war against Marxism" and "infiltrators" into the Peronist movement. The immediate targets of the campaign were the left-wing Peronist youth organizations and various provincial governors and deputy governors who were thought to be too liberal.

GENERAL JUAN PERON steps up repression against Argentine left.

Peron seized on the Azul raid as a pretext for carrying his attack on the "soft" Peronists to a new level. His most immediate target was the liberal governor of Buenos Aires province where the action took place, denounced by Peron in a Jan. 21 speech, for "indifference" to terrorist activities, or "as some suspect, tolerance that amounts to complicity."

Despite a demonstration of a thousand youth organized by the Juventud Peronista (JP — Peronist Youth) in his defense, the governor resigned, and was replaced by a right winger.

Peron crushed a rebellion of JP deputies against his new Penal Code, which restores most of the former military dictatorship's repressive laws. The JP capitulated after the General had threatened their expulsion from the Peronist parliamentary bloc Jan. 22.

Peron's Jan. 21 call for a mobilization of the entire country against the "extremists" was taken up by the CGT (Confederacion General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor) national leadership, which issued a statement lumping all the left together with the ERP.

Foley quotes from an ad placed by the CGT bureaucrats in the Jan. 22 Buenos Aires daily **La Opinion:**

"This motley crew of traitors has different methods of operation, but they are all aiming for the same goal. They reject the peace Peron calls for. They regard Peron as an enemy."

Trotskyists made scapegoat

"Peron also tried to conjure up a conspiracy of 'destructive opposition,' " Foley reports, "including all the opponents of the Pacto Social — the guerrillas, the 'left infiltrators, the militant unions, and the far left in general.' But he sought to give it a more precise name than the CGT leadership's 'motley crew of traitors.' It was, he said, 'the Fourth International.'

" 'In a report published Sunday, Jan. 20, Peron told the journalist Henry Raymount,' the Jan. 24 **Panorama** noted, 'that "orthodox Marxism is on our side," and that it was "unorthodox Marxism, linked to the Fourth International, with its center in Paris," that was responsible for the terrorist campaign.' "

Peron made the same charge in his Jan. 22 speech calling for the JP deputies to stand behind his new Penal Code.

"Peron," Foley notes, "began his attacks on Trotskyism in response to ERP actions during the period of the change of government in the spring of 1973. At that time, the ERP, which has disavowed all Trotskyist connections, was still formally affiliated to the Fourth International."

Revolutionary Marxism, it is well known, rejects acts of individual terror such as the raid on the Azus military base.

"Perhaps," Foley suggests, "intoxicated by the adulation that surrounds him, Peron is in danger of overdoing his demogogic campaign, of losing his credibility too quickly. In any case, one of the most astute voices of U.S. imperialism, the **New York Times** expressed worry in its Jan. 28 issue that Peron might be getting carried away:

" Stong measures are obviously required against the guerrillas . . . . But the greater threat to stability will come if General Peron carries his drive against all leftists so far as to push nonviolent forces into the arms of groups such as the People's Revolutionary Army.' "

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labor Challenge

RMG slams abortion rights struggle; LSA fights for abortion law repeal

his is the fourth in a series of articles on he Revolutionary Marxist Group and its ewspaper, Old Mole.

y JON COLE

he founding convention of the evolutionary Marxist Group in October 973 decided on activities around "the iemes judged to be of the greatest importance for building the revolutionary iovement over the next several years." 'hese themes are said to be "workers' truggles, Quebec and anti-imperialist olidarity, and work among high school nd university students and teachers." **Old Mole**, November 1973)

Conspicuous by its absence from this list s the women's liberation movement.

Since 1967 the new rise of feminism has rought thousands of women into radical olitical activity, around campaigns for bortion law repeal, day care, equal pay, nd against sexist laws and institutions of ll kinds.

Recognizing the great revolutionary otential of the women's movement, and asing themselves on the long Marxist radition of opposition to the oppression of /omen, the Trotskyists of the League for ocialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste)uvriere have given full support to this adicalization, and have worked to build he movement to the best of their ability. 1embers of the LSA/ LSO have been in he forefront of the campaign to repeal the nti-abortion laws, for example.

The RMG, by contrast, has largely bstained from the women's movement. 'heir views are a continuation of those xpressed in the January 1973 **Old Mole**, at hat time the publication of a University of 'oronto group of the same name. In an rticle entitled "Strategy and Tactics of Vomen's Liberation," the article, signed 1argot Henderson, **Old Mole** made an xtended attack on the active support iven by the LSA/ LSO to the abortion law epeal campaign.

Henderson wrote: "The consistent solation of the demands of the abortion ampaign from the class struggle in all its trategic and tactical variations serves to ttract only liberal elements, whose inerests rest solely in a single reform. As a esult, a coalition with such a 'low common lenominator' becomes increasingly less ible to provide a platform from which evolutionaries can elaborate a total inalysis of women's oppression. For xample, the demand 'Repeal All Abortion .aws,' is reformist in that it addresses tself only to the legal aspects of the question of abortion. It fosters the illusion hat governmental reforms can actually solve the problems of women's oppression."

"The LSA," Henderson charged, "has ound it necessary to mute its politics in order to attract as many women as possible around a reformist demand, with he perspective that once they are engaged n mass struggle that they will draw socialist conclusions.

"Although every Marxist-Leninist nows that the working class itself — the class that is instinctively class conscious — does not necessarily draw socialist conclusions from mass class struggle, we are now told that the petty-bourgeois elements drawn into this reformist campaign will!"

LSA/LSO reply

A prominent member of the League for Socialist action, Lis Angus, replied to **Old Mole** in **Labor Challenge**, May 28, 1973. Noting that it was surprising to find the Old Mole group so ready to publish major condemnations of the abortion campaign and the LSA's role in it — "since the Old Mole has consistently refused to get any first-hand experience in this struggle" — Angus gave a point-by-point reply to Henderson, a reply which has never been answered.

The following are major excerpts from the article by Lis Angus.

What is reformism?

Henderson appears to be confused on exactly what reformism is, equating it wrongly with the struggle for reforms.

What demarks reformism from revolutionary politics and program is not simply demands but an entire perspective of struggle.

Reformism is a **strategy**: broadly speaking, it is the perspective that capitalist society can be transformed gradually, through a series of reforms, to meet people's real needs.

REPEAL ABORTION LAWS
UTERUS IS NOT GOV'T PROP
ABORTION A WOMANS RIGHT TO CHOOSE
ABORTION A RIGHT NOT A PRIVILEGE

photo by Jeff White

DEMONSTRATION FOR REPEAL of restrictive abortion laws. While League for Socialist Action helps build such demonstrations, RMG abstains from struggle.

Revolutionary Marxists, on the other hand, deny the reforms alone can eliminate the injustices of our society. Those injustices stem from the fundamental character of capitalism — so the system as a whole must be changed. In particular, working people must abolish capitalism's repressive apparatus — the state, police, armed forces and bureaucracy — replacing them with democratic structures which are truly reflective of the needs and desires of the vast majority.

Marxists have carried on an unrelenting struggle against reformism in working class politics, attempting to break the working class and its allies from reformist illusions.

The most effective way of fighting these illusions is not by preaching at the masses, or by refusing to work with people who hold such views — but by participating in and building the real everyday struggles of the masses, attempting to lead them in a direction which will win real victories and will build people's confidence in their own power: the power of mass action.

Many such struggles are struggles for reforms. Short of a revolutionary upsurge, few struggles directly challenge the continued existence of capitalism. But it would be incorrect for revolutionaries to stand aside from such struggles, waiting for an insurrection.

In relation to the rapidly-growing radicalization of women, revolutionaries have further responsibilities than simply looking for a "platform" for their ideas.

Marxists must look for ways to build the ongoing struggles of women, of ways to convince women of the effectiveness of collective action, and to lead them toward building a mass, independent feminist movement which can carry united struggles of women against their oppression.

It is this perspective which will bring women into alliance with the struggles of the working class and other oppressed groups against the capitalist class.

It is quite true that "repeal the abortion laws" is a demand for a legal reform. It is a demand which has risen out of the feminist radicalization, and which already has mass support among Canadian women. The struggle for this demand has, at this time, greater potential than any other feminist struggle to help women learn the importance of mass united action. For this reason, it is crucial that revolutionaries help lead this struggle — rather than abandon it to the reformists, as Henderson proposes.

This struggle leads women directly into confrontation with the capitalist state: it is **part of** the class struggle in Canada at this time — not artifically "isolated" from it, as Henderson would have us think.

Revolutionaries can't choose how the struggles of the masses will unfold, what terrain they will be fought on — that is decided by the masses themselves, arising out of their real needs. The task for revolutionary socialists is to participate in these struggles with a correct program — a program which can lead the struggle forward and can aid the masses in drawing lessons for further struggles.

What underlies the Old Mole's opposition to struggles for reforms? Basically, Old Mole rejects the real struggles of the masses today. Henderson opposes the struggle for repeal of the abortion laws because she opposes the reality of the feminist radicalization as it is unfolding in Canada.

Henderson thinks it is "quite likely" that the repeal demand will be won — and she thinks this would be a bad thing, leading to "confusion, demoralization and resulting demobilization . . . . And further, to the extent that women involved in this coalition become aware of the fact that those in the LSA are revolutionaries, they are bound to be confused and to mistrust what they see as 'revolutionary politics.' "

But the confusion lies, not in the minds of abortion activists, but in the political conceptions of Old Mole.

Henderson says, in effect, that victories in the class struggle won within capitalism only serve to reinforce the masses' confidence in capitalism. In other words, the only victory worth fighting for is the socialist revolution itself.

But the foundation of that revolution is the masses' confidence in their own ability to struggle together effectively, and in a leadership which has shown it can best help them win victories from capitalism. That confidence can only be built through ongoing struggles to win real gains.

It is when self-styled revolutionaries like Old Mole argue **against** winning victories that the masses are "confused" and learn to "mistrust what they see as 'revolutionary politics.' " The attitude of the Old Mole can only teach the masses that revolutionary politics have no connection with their immediate needs.

Guarantees?

Henderson charges that the abortion campaign draws "only liberal elements" — presumably feminists who do not yet consider themselves revolutionaries — and that they "would not necessarily draw socialist conclusions" from this struggle.

There are no automatic, "guaranteed" routes to class consciousness. The task of revolutionaries is to try to lead people towards an understanding of what is necessary to change capitalist society — but no struggle "necessarily" leads to socialist conclusions.

The Old Mole appears to want such guarantees, however, and to want to associate only with those who have already proven that they have a socialist consciousness. The only value they see to participating in struggles together with non-revolutionaries is for "political debate," for a platform for revolutionary politics.

When Henderson accuses the League for Socialist Action of "muting its politics in order to attract as many women as possible around a reforminst demand", she means in fact that the LSA actually **builds** the abortion campaign rather than just standing on the edges to preach to the participants.

What alternative does the Old Mole offer to the approach of the LSA? Talk is cheap — and that is about all we get.

The only proposal Henderson puts forward is the construction of "socialist women's groups": in fact a haven for Old Mole to operate in, safe from contamination from "liberal elements."

Nowhere does Henderson mention **building** or **leading** the feminist movement. In fact, she seems to be afraid of the full strength of the movement — afraid to get right into it for fear it might tarnish Old Mole's purity.

By contrast, the LSA participates in the struggles of the feminist movement as they develop — to grasp opportunities to advance, and win women to, a mass action strategy for women's liberation. In the process of these struggles many women will be able to gain an understanding of the broader struggle of the working class — and its allies in the independent movements of other oppressed groups — for a socialist revolution.

(continued next issue)

labor Challenge

Peron extends right-wing drive against students, workers' movement

On March 14, the Argentine legislature passed a bill designed to "normalize" the universities. Article 5 of the new law states: "It is forbidden to carry out partisan political activity within the universities or propagate ideas contrary to our democratic system." The bill marked an extension of Peron's drive against "Marxism" and the militant sectors of the trade-union movement.

The Cordoba police arrested 150 persons on March 17, following raids on the homes of left-wingers, according to a report in the Montreal daily **Le Devoir.** A short time previously, the governor and deputy governor of the province were ousted by means of a "police revolt" which was carefully stage-managed by Person himself.

The president charged in his March 2 message to Congress that under the rule of Obregon Cano and Atilio Lopez, Cordoba had become the "nationwide focus of subversive activity designed to advance violent revolution as an alternative to the peaceful change that the immense majority of the Argentine people have voluntarily chosen."

In reality, what lay behind the assault on the elected government of Cordoba was the fact that under Obregon, a left-wing Peronist, militant unionists had succeeded in winning wage gains which broke through the guidelines set down in Peron's "Social Pact." What these unions had achieved in Cordoba, a stronghold of the left, had the potential of becoming an attractive example to workers in other regions of the country.

Peron's success in carrying off the coup in Cordoba and winning congressional approval of his handpicked representatives to run the province according to his directives, marks a significant victory for his drive against the left.

Instrumental to the victory was the political weakness of the main forces on the left who have a mass following; while the Cordoba workers are among the most combative in the country, they were disarmed by a leadership which has yet to break with Peronism. Peron's support for the coup undercut the left Peronists' calls to resist. Both Obregon Cano and Atilio Lopez, targets of the coup, capitulated on March 7 by officially resigning.

The Communist party, and many of the ultraleft groups supported Peron in the Sept. 23 elections, thus helping to give him the authority he is using against them today. Even now they do not seem to have issued a call for the labor movement to break with Peron. Only the Argentine Trotskyists of the PST (Socialist Workers Party, a sympathizing section of the Fourth International) have offered a political alternative to Peron, opposing his Social Pact and running candidates against him and his representatives in the elections.

In the meantime, the repressive drive is continuing. On the same day the universities law was rammed through the House of Deputies, Peron issued a decree banning the printing, publication and circulation of the daily **El Mundo**, accused of reflecting the views of the ERP (Revolutionary Army of the People, a guerrilla group). Attacks on journalists and newspaper offices have increased.

Violence and intimidation are being used by the Peronists to tighten their control over the labor movement. After seizing formal control of the Cordoba union movement during the police coup, when militant unionists were either in jail or in hiding, the right-wing Peronists went on to consolidate their control of the metal workers union.

PERON
PRESIDENTE

ILLUSIONS in Peronism were reinforced by support for Peron by most of Argentine left. Above, supporters celebrate victory in presidential election.

One incident that occurred in mid-February illustrates the methods by which the right-wing Peronists retain their control of the union apparatus. A group of activists from the PST were distributing leaflets for a class-struggle slate in the metal-workers union outside a foundry in Buenos Aires. They were attacked by an armed goon squad. One PST member, Eduardo Greizenstein, was shot in the back with a .32 caliber pistol. The bullet struck only a few inches from his spine.

How far Peron will be able to go in his repressive drive depends in large part on the response of left-wing leaders of the labor movement. Peron has been careful so far in his campaign, in fear of touching off motion by workers in defense of their democratic rights. The Argentine working class, highly organized and combatitive, has the power to turn back the rightist offensive. But its capacity to do so depends on its finding leaders who are prepared to break from the longstanding illusions in Peronism.